

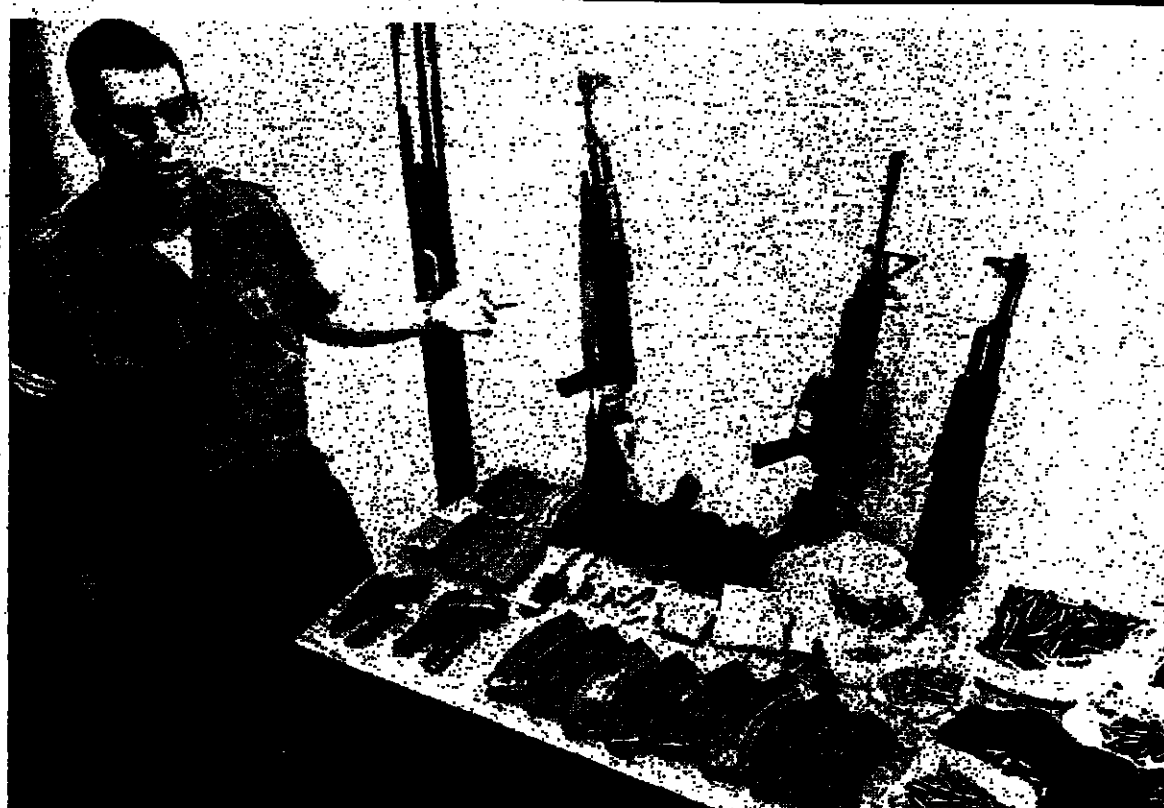
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| SHABAT | BEGINS | ENDS |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Jerusalem | 4:38 p.m. | 5:49 p.m. |
| Tel Aviv | 4:56 p.m. | 5:51 p.m. |
| Haifa | 4:48 p.m. | 5:49 p.m. |

THE JERUSALEM POST

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An IDF officer points to weapons and ammunition seized after the clash Wednesday between security forces and gunmen in Gaza. Four Palestinians and an Israeli were killed during the shooting that erupted during a check of suspicious cars (AFP)

Gaza car chase ends in death

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT and JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporters
TEL AVIV - Four Palestinian gunmen and a Shin Bet agent were killed in a shoot-out following a car chase in Gaza Tuesday night. The gunmen, two escaped security prisoners and two members of the Islamic Jihad movement, were apparently preparing for an attack on an Israeli target. A cache of weapons and ammunition was found in their apartment and vehicles.
The Shin Bet agent was identified as Victor Arjun, 27, of Beersheba. He was buried in the town Wednesday afternoon. Two of the Palestinians killed, Sami al-Sheikh Khalil of Gaza, and Mohammad Said al-Jamal of Rafah, escaped from Gaza

prison with four other inmates on May 18. The two others, Fayed Gharabli and Ahmad Khalas, were said to be members of the Islamic Jihad.
Briefing reporters at his headquarters in Beersheba, O/C Southern Command Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai said the group was "one of the most dangerous and complex squads in the Strip. It's structure, and the weapons and ammunition it had, could have caused heavy damage."
His remark about the squads' structure and aims clearly suggest the security services have apprehended other Palestinians involved with the group. A Palestinian source told *The Jerusalem Post* arrests have been made, though the IDF provided no details.

Mordechai indicated that the encounter with the gunmen had not been planned in advance. According to his account, three of the Palestinians were travelling in a Peugeot 504 when they were spotted at about 9 p.m. by Shin Bet agents scanning traffic near the cemetery at the Shajia neighborhood in Gaza. One agent had the impression one of the passengers was armed. The Peugeot driver ignored signals to stop, and sped away into the narrow alleys of the neighborhood, followed by the Shin Bet car, IDF troops and members of the Border Police anti-terror unit.
The car was stopped, and security forces approaching the vehicle for examination detected a man carrying

(Continued on Back Page)

Broadcast blackout likely to continue

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The radio and television blackout which began on Wednesday afternoon, seems likely to continue over the weekend.
Israel Television head Haim Yavin, who is deputizing for Broadcasting Authority Director General Uri Porat while the latter is abroad, met on Wednesday with the Treasury's chief wage negotiator Ya'acov Danon in a last minute bid to avert the strike. The meeting, held in Yavin's office an hour before the strike went into effect, was also attended by Amram Amar, the IBA's head of personnel, and representatives of the National Association of Journalists.
Yavin described the situation as "a definite stalemate." The meeting broke up as soon as the strike began, in keeping with the government policy of not conducting negotiations with employees who are striking.

In a futile plea to striking journalists, IBA chairman Micha Yonon asked them to take into account that their action could play into the hands of those who want to close down the Broadcasting Authority entirely. In an era in which the Lavi project could be scrapped, he pointed out, it was not inconceivable that the strike could lead to the closure of the IBA.
This is in fact exactly what was proposed by deputy IBA chairman David Admon, who prior to leaving for the U.S. on Wednesday, declared that the time had come to close down the Broadcasting Authority and to reorganize it completely. The IBA is the victim of an antiquated system and right, he declared, was on the side of the journalists. "It is impossible to live on the wages they earn," Admon proposed reducing the IBA payroll from 1,500 to 400 tenured employ-

ees. The other 1,100, he said, could freelance. This would leave them legally and morally free to work elsewhere without any conflict of interest between their other sources of employment and income and what they did for Israel Radio or Israel Television.
Yonon is upset by the fact that hundreds of IBA employees who are not journalists are profiting from the strike, because they too are not working, but are nonetheless receiving a full salary.

Galei Zahal, the Army Radio station which has never once been on strike in the 37 years since its inception, lived up to its jingle "Galei Zahal all the time." A 24-hour-a-day station, it has remained on the air. Every hour on the hour, an announcer told listeners that there was no news broadcast due to the strike by IBA employees. Galei Zahal's own news bulletins were resumed at midnight last night and continued till 6 this morning.

There will be no news bulletins this evening or tomorrow during the day, said station chief Nahman Shai, because Galei Zahal does not broadcast its own news flashes on festivals or on the Sabbath. This religious status quo will not change, he added, unless he is given a direct order by the Defence Minister or if some major news story breaks.
Porat is due back in Israel on Sunday. He is hastening his return in the wake of the strike. Journalists Association executive members are sceptical about what they term his "sudden concern." Porat knew they were going to strike before he went abroad, they say. They also note that nine years ago, when IBA journalists first won wage parity with the print media, Porat was a member of the Journalists Association executive which fought to gain that pay rise. (See background story, Page Four).

Syrian envoy slain outside Brussels home

BRUSSELS (AP) - Arab envoys, meeting a day after a Syrian diplomat was shot to death in Brussels, said yesterday they would ask the Belgian government to provide tighter security for their missions and personnel in this capital.

Antoniou Hanna, the First Secretary of the Syrian embassy, was shot at least four times by a gunman Wednesday in front of his suburban Brussels home and died on the sidewalk. The gunman hopped into a small grey car and was driven away. Meanwhile, police issued a description of the gunman based on eyewitness accounts. He was described as a man 30-40 years old, 1.75 or 1.80 metres tall, wearing glasses and a neatly trimmed beard. The Arab ambassadors issued a statement saying they would "urgently contact the foreign ministry... to ask that all is done to prevent such crimes from recurring."

After Wednesday's killing, an anonymous caller to the *Belga* news agency claimed that Hanna was a secret agent and that the "Syrian mujahideen" had assassinated him. The French news agency *Agence France-Presse* said a caller to its Brussels office later said Hanna, 38, had been slain by the "people's mujahideen" and added: "the chief of the Syrian secret services has been executed." It was believed to be the first known reference to a group by either name.

Senate votes to close PLO office

By WOLF BLITZER
WASHINGTON - The U.S. Senate yesterday passed legislation to shut down the PLO's office in New York.

By a voice vote, the Senate attached an amendment to the Senate authorization bill which would go beyond the Administration's decision last month to close the PLO's Washington office.

The measure now goes to the House where Republican Jack Kemp of New York is determined to follow suit.

Tunis hangs fundamentalists

TUNIS (Reuters) - Two Islamic fundamentalists were hanged in a Tunis prison at dawn on Thursday for plotting to overthrow the state with Iranian help, the Justice Ministry said.

After the executions, the authorities scaled down the tight security imposed in the capital since the September 27, State Security Court judgement. Explaining the reduction in the number of riot police on the streets, one government official (Continued on Back Page)

U.S. sinks Iranian ships

J.P. Staff and Agencies
Three Iranian gunboats were destroyed by U.S. military helicopters last night in the Persian Gulf.
Pentagon spokesman Fred Hoffman said the gunboats had opened fire on a lone military helicopter.
The helicopter landed in reinforcements, and the Iranian craft were attacked - apparently by two U.S. helicopters.
The U.S. spokesman said a fourth

gunboat had escaped unharmed and that three Iranian survivors had been rescued from the sea, two of them gravely injured.
The spokesman said the U.S. had responded to what was "clearly a hostile act." The helicopters were on a routine patrol in international waters near Saudi Arabia.
U.S. sources also disclosed that a second, unrelated incident had occurred in the Gulf on Thursday.

According to the sources, Iranians on an oil platform apparently fired what was meant to be a warning shot at an American warship that was steaming in the vicinity. The American ship did not return the fire.
It was the first U.S. military engagement in the Gulf since September 21, when U.S. helicopters opened fire on an Iranian mine-laying vessel in the Gulf, the Iran Ajr. Five Iranians were reported

killed in the incident and 24 crew were captured but were later released.
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Shamir will meet with Reagan

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
WASHINGTON - President Ronald Reagan has agreed to meet with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir during his U.S. visit next month, reversing his previous decision, U.S. officials said yesterday.

Earlier last week, the President had suggested that he would be preoccupied with planning for his expected summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev during the second 800 Mavericks, which were to have been used as a bargaining chip, would have been removed during the actual Congressional review process.

After receiving Reagan's reply, Shamir's aides said that the Prime Minister did not plan to cancel his journey to the U.S. But they clearly were disappointed.
There were some suggestions in the press that the White House was snubbing Shamir. The Prime Minister's aides were especially sensitive to the fact that Reagan has agreed to invite President Chaim Herzog to the U.S. for an official state visit. The two men will meet in Washington on November 10.

Thus, Israeli officials and their supporters in Washington quietly but actively sought to reverse Reagan's decision on seeing Shamir. They received word yesterday that the President would schedule a meeting with Shamir in Washington either before or after the Prime Minister's speech in Miami.

Reagan scales down arms sale to Saudi Arabia

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON - As part of a compromise designed to head off a full-scale confrontation with the Senate, the White House has reduced the scope of its planned arms package for Saudi Arabia, informed sources said yesterday.
During high-level meetings on Thursday, President Ronald Reagan is said to have agreed to eliminate the 1,600 Maverick anti-tank missiles from the proposed \$1.4 billion package.

An earlier decision to remove 800 of the Mavericks as part of a two-stage compromise was reversed at the last minute in order not to further antagonize Senators. The second, 800 Mavericks, were to have been used as a bargaining chip, would have been removed during the actual Congressional review process.

The Mavericks, of particular worry to Israel's friends in Congress due to their high mobility and enhanced lethality, were always the most controversial element of the sale, which also includes 12 replacement F-15 jet fighters as well as a package of sophisticated electronic equipment and other "upgrades" for Saudi Arabia's existing F-15s and M-60 battle tanks.
White House officials have privately met with Republican Senators Bob Dole of Kansas and Bob

Packwood of Oregon and Democratic Senators Alan Cranston of California and Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio to discuss the compromise.

The senators were said to have agreed to drop their opposition only if all of the Mavericks were eliminated.
U.S. officials are now reportedly discussing the compromise with the Saudis. The Administration is anxious to submit a formal Saudi arms proposal to Congress in order to give the lawmakers enough time to consider the sale before next month's Congressional recess.
The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the pro-Israel lobbying organization, is reportedly prepared to go along with the two-stage compromise. The lobby would continue to publicly oppose the sale but would not actively fight against it.

Speaking to the press after the decision yesterday, Senator Howard Metzenbaum said: "We are pleased that there will not be a confrontation between Congress and the President" over the sale.
According to AP, the agreement also specified that the Administration will not seek to sell \$7 million worth of Stinger shoulder-fired ground-to-air missiles to Bahrain. Members of Congress feared the weapons could fall into the hands of terrorists.

First state visit to U.S. for Israeli president

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter
President Chaim Herzog is scheduled to make the first official state visit by an Israeli chief of state to the U.S. next month. He will proceed to Washington after visiting Denmark.

Beit Hanassi sources confirmed last night an Israeli Radio report from Washington on the eve of Succot that Herzog, who will complete his first term in May, will make the first ever presidential state visit in November. The official announcement is due to be made by both governments within a short time.
Beit Hanassi was rather amused by the news, reported in Wednesday's *Jerusalem Post*, that on Tuesday the U.S. Senate passed a non-binding resolution at the initiative of New York Senator Daniel Moynihan calling on President Ronald Reagan to invite Herzog for an official state visit. The state visit had already been planned for three or four months.

Herzog's predecessor, Yitzhak Navon, made an "official" but not state U.S. visit almost exactly five years ago when he went at the invitation of the American Jewish community. Although he was received by President Reagan in the White House, it was not a state visit - the highest protocol category for a foreign leader.

Anglo-Jewish millionaire faces charges of theft

By DAVID HOROVITZ
LONDON - Sir Jack Lyons, a prominent Anglo-Jewish businessman, was yesterday charged with the theft of over £3 million from the Guinness brewing giant.

He will appear in court this morning to face nine separate charges, including three counts of false accounting and two of theft. Lyons, 71, a well-known City figure with a string of company chairmanships and directorships to his name, was arrested yesterday morning.

He was taken from his Kensington home to a Holborn police station, where he was questioned all day over his involvement in the illegal share support operation that helped Guinness secure the bitterly contested takeover of the Distillers drinks group.

Finance Lyons' involvement in

the Guinness affair stemmed from his position as adviser to the concern's management consultancy firm, Bain & Co.

He was paid £2m. for advice given in the course of Guinness's takeover of Distillers, an illegally managed operation that has left the Guinness chairman Ernest Saunders charged with a variety of crimes.

Lyons, a life vice president of the Joint Israel Appeal and chairman of the Federation of Jewish Relief Organizations, has always maintained that he received the £2m. for his "valuable services" and that he had not broken the law in the takeover operation.

Sources close to the investigation believe that Lyons is not the only prominent Jewish businessman here likely to be charged in connection with the Guinness affair.

British TV to probe Waldheim allegations

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Post Correspondent & Agencies
LONDON - Thames Television has given the go-ahead for a £1.5 million investigation into allegations of war crimes against Austrian President Kurt Waldheim.

The investigation, for which legal teams will tour seven countries taking evidence and collecting testimony, will culminate in a televised testing of evidence by two leading lawyers before a tribunal.

In Vienna yesterday, a spokesman for Waldheim confirmed that the controversial head of state had been invited to visit Romania, despite reported denials by a senior Romanian diplomat.

The spokesman said that the invitation had been received from Bucharest about six months ago and reaffirmed a few weeks ago, though no date for a visit had been fixed.
Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock told newsmen at the UN last week that Romania had invited Waldheim for an official visit to Bucharest.

But Romanian Ambassador to the U.S. Ion Stochici was quoted by a World Jewish Congress (WJC) spokesman on Wednesday as saying that no invitation had been extended and that there were no plans to issue one.

Paris to try former minister

PARIS (AP) - The National Assembly, acting under a rarely used power, voted early Thursday to put a former Socialist Party minister on trial before the High Court of Justice for allegedly misappropriating public funds.

The Assembly, which began convening over the issue early Wednesday evening, decided 340 to 211 that former Cooperation Minister Christian Nucci go on trial for allegedly diverting some 5 million francs (about \$833,000) for his personal use, mainly to finance his campaign for re-election to the Assembly.

Presidential candidate Pat Robertson

U.S. evangelist admits his bride was pregnant

WASHINGTON (AP) - Republican presidential candidate Pat Robertson acknowledged Wednesday that his first son was conceived months before his marriage and that he had not previously revealed the wedding date in an effort to "protect his family."
Robertson, a television evangelist who stepped down from his ministry to pursue his presidential ambitions, said in an interview published in yesterday's *Washington Post* that he and his wife Dede always considered March 22, 1954, as the day their marriage started because "our son was conceived on that day." He said the couple's legal marriage on August 27, 1954, "wasn't any big deal." *The Wall Street Journal* on Tuesday had reported Robertson's legal marriage date and that the couple's first son was born 10 weeks later.

In a July interview with *The Post*, Robertson had been asked to state the date of his marriage and replied: "We were married, we began, I'm trying to think, it was 33 years ago, March the 22, we celebrate, my birthday." Robertson said Wednesday he had given "an honest answer" in the earlier interview, saying the couple always considered the date of their son's conception to be the start of their marriage. Robertson told *The Post* that he had not specified the true date of his marriage earlier because "this was a man trying to protect his family."

Capsized Dominicans feared eaten by sharks

SANTO DOMINGO (REUTERS) - More than 100 people were feared drowned or torn apart by sharks after a small boat carrying refugees went down off the Dominican Republic.

The 40-foot boat, estimated to have been carrying up to 130 peasants seeking better lives in Puerto Rico, sank early on Tuesday in the Mona Channel some 30-kilometres off the northeastern coast of the Dominican Republic.

About 20 refugees had been rescued by midday on Wednesday. Andres Moreta, the Dominican

consul in San Juan, Puerto Rico, said that 30 corpses had been recovered and 80 were missing and feared dead.

Ernest Uuribe, at the U.S. Embassy in Santo Domingo, said officials had shown him photographs of sharks, six-metres-long, in a gorging frenzy around bodies in the water.

Civil Defence director Eugenio Cabral, who took some of the pictures, told reporters after flying over the scene: "We saw sharks chewing up people in the water. It was a horrible experience."

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| | 29.9.87 | MIN. | MAX. |
|---------------|-------------|--------|------|
| AMSTERDAM | 10 16 17 22 | Cloudy | |
| BRUSSELS | 9 13 19 22 | Clear | |
| MUNICH | 10 16 23 27 | Clear | |
| CHICAGO | 10 16 21 28 | Cloudy | |
| COPENHAGEN | 12 14 13 18 | Clear | |
| FRANKFURT | 9 16 21 26 | Cloudy | |
| GOTENBURG | 12 14 17 22 | Clear | |
| HELSINKI | 7 13 13 18 | Clear | |
| HONGKONG | 26 27 28 34 | Clear | |
| JULIANHARBOUR | 8 13 20 26 | Clear | |
| LONDON | 14 17 20 24 | Clear | |
| MADRID | 12 16 18 22 | Cloudy | |
| MONTREAL | 2 10 18 24 | Clear | |
| NEW YORK | 7 14 21 28 | Cloudy | |
| OSLO | 8 13 18 22 | Clear | |
| PARIS | 14 18 20 24 | Cloudy | |
| SAO PAULO | 17 20 22 26 | Clear | |
| SINGAPORE | 18 20 22 26 | Cloudy | |
| STOCKHOLM | 10 16 21 26 | Cloudy | |
| TOKYO | 20 22 24 28 | Clear | |
| TORONTO | 8 13 18 22 | Clear | |
| VIENNA | 11 13 17 21 | Clear | |
| ZURICH | 8 13 18 22 | Cloudy | |

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Fair and warmer.

| | Yesterday's | Yesterday's | Today's |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------|
| | Humidity | Min-Max | Min-Max |
| Jerusalem | 35 | 12-24 | 1-24 |
| Golan | 25 | 12-26 | 1-24 |
| Nahariya | 51 | 16-27 | 1-24 |
| Safed | 30 | 10-20 | 1-24 |
| Haifa Port | 57 | 16-29 | 1-24 |
| Tiberias | 41 | 16-30 | 1-24 |
| Nazareth | 41 | 15-28 | 1-24 |
| Afula | 31 | 15-30 | 1-24 |
| Sharon | 24 | 15-27 | 1-24 |
| Tel Aviv | 46 | 17-27 | 1-24 |
| B-G Airport | 48 | 15-27 | 1-24 |
| Jericho | 31 | 14-22 | 1-24 |
| Gaza | 53 | 18-26 | 1-24 |
| Beersheva | 24 | 15-29 | 1-24 |
| Eilat | — | 19-32 | 1-24 |

Howe backs conference for Mideast

Jerusalem Post Staff
An international conference "offers the best - indeed the only practical - way forward", according to British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. He was speaking at a luncheon hosted by the Conservative Friends of Israel in Blackpool this week.

"A firm basis for a conference has been agreed, with great courage and vision, by Shimon Peres and King Hussein," Sir Geoffrey said. Peres's eight-point plan presented at the UN General Assembly, he continued, formed "the most comprehensive statement yet of how a conference might operate." He added that the two main issues - the Palestinian question and the involvement of two permanent members of the Security Council who do not have relations with Israel - "have in them the seeds of resolution."

No proposal for a conference that would be seen as "a trap" for Israel would "deserve - or get - our support," he said.

The foreign secretary noted that in the last couple of years relations between the Israeli and British governments have become "more frequent and cordial."

Moshe Sasson's son killed in car accident

Reuven Sasson, son of Israel's ambassador to Egypt Moshe Sasson, was killed in a car accident on Wednesday morning on the Arava road, 30 kilometers north of Eilat.

Sasson's funeral will be held today in Jerusalem. His father Moshe arrived in Israel yesterday by car to attend his 29-year-old son's funeral.

In another accident, an Ashdod woman, Odette Azuril, 42, was killed and three others were seriously injured late Wednesday in a head-on collision between two cars on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv Highway four miles west of Jerusalem.

Avner and Edna

invite their friends and neighbours to an open house.

"Hakafot Shniyot"

Thursday night, Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Friday night films return to capital

BY ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

Movies will be shown once again during Shabbat in Jerusalem tonight, but no protests have yet been called by ultra-Orthodox leaders.

After a two-week respite because of the Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur holidays, the Cinematheque, the Beit Agron Cinema, and Beit Yitzhaki, will resume Friday night screenings. Musical and artistic events will be held at Beit Shmuel, the Reform Movement's guest house, and at Tzavta, a club owned by Mapam.

The city's ultra-Orthodox Jews, apparently preoccupied with the Succot holiday, have yet to organize any protest for tonight, according to ultra-Orthodox activist Yehuda Meshe Zahav.

In posters appearing Wednesday afternoon in the Mea Shearim neighbourhood, the executive council of the Eida Hareidit announced that talks with the Cinematheque management had not produced any

agreement.

Jerusalem's Mapam party will celebrate Succot tomorrow with a picnic advocating secular-religious tolerance, with Hyde Park-style speeches from 12 p.m. to 4 p.m. at Sacher Park.

In the course of the two-week let-up in the movie controversy, Jews in the U.S. and elsewhere also protested against the screenings. Emma Lazavoff Schaver, who donated the Beit Agron auditorium where movies are shown on Friday nights, wrote Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek saying she opposes using the building to "undermine Jerusalem's unique religious character."

"This was not the original intent of our agreement in establishing the building," Schaver wrote.

Kollek has taken the operators of the Beit Agron and Orna Cinemas to court on the grounds that they are commercial movie houses and therefore should not be showing movies on Friday nights. A hearing is scheduled on October 18.

Limited presidential pardons for Israel's 40th birthday

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Chaim Herzog will approve only a limited number of pardons and sentence-reductions for prisoners as part of Israel's 40th anniversary celebrations and will not grant wholesale pardons as has been mooted in media reports.

The President decided this on Wednesday morning, after holding a meeting at Beit Hanassi for a discussion of the subject with Justice Minister Avraham Sharir, Police

Minister Haim Bar-Lev, Attorney-General Yosef Harish, Police Inspector-General David Kraus and Prisons Authority head David Maimon.

According to Beit Hanassi, Herzog decided that the number of pardons would be "selective and limited", and that he would grant them on an individual, case-by-case basis. He would do so after receiving recommendations from the justice minister, who in turn would hear the proposals of his own advisory committee on pardons.

TV star takes top Health Ministry post

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

The Health Ministry will next month become the first to have a TV star as its director-general. Prof. Yoram Lass, co-host of Israel TV's *Ta'atit* science programme, as well as assistant rector of Tel Aviv University Medical School, will replace Dr. Dov Golan, after only ten months in the post.

Golan, who was formerly head of Haifa's Rothschild Hospital, submitted his resignation to Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino, explaining that he wanted to "return to the kind of projects that I have been involved in." In the official ministry announcement, Arbeli-Almosino does not express "regret" at Golan's decision. It is an open secret in the ministry that although their personal relations were cordial, Golan was not adept at dealing with the day-to-day crises that plagued the ministry.

Lass - 42 years old and the father of three - will be the youngest director-general ever to work in the health ministry. Besides his TV credentials, Lass has a long list of professional achievements to his credit, including a teaching stint at Harvard Medical School and head of the "Bridges for Peace" medical project with Egypt.

Claude Cheysson due here tomorrow

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Economic Community's commissioner for relations with Mediterranean countries, Claude Cheysson, is due to arrive here tomorrow for a three-day visit. He is expected to push for direct export of agricultural products from the administered territories to the EC countries.

During his official visit Cheysson will meet Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres and Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin. Israeli officials said last night that Cheysson's visit was "routine," but added that they expected him to raise the issue of agricultural exports from the territories.

Most of the agricultural exports to Europe from the territories are marketed through Jordan or Israeli marketing boards. The EC has been pressuring Israel for some time on this issue. Last August it was decided to set up a subsidiary of Agrexco to coordinate exports to the EC countries from the territories.

Israeli representatives at the talks are expected to request the early implementation of part of an agreement signed between Israel and the EC after Spain and Portugal joined the community in 1986. Israel wants the community's council of ministers to approve implementation of several clauses protecting Israeli exports before the accord's formal ratification.

Although the talks will centre on economic issues, it is believed that Cheysson will also discuss political questions with Peres and Shamir.

Haifa buzzing over UFO visit 'evidence'

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA - UFO fever has gripped the city. An eight-metre patch of scorched sand, stones and thistles a few metres from the waterline near the Kiryat Sprinkler quarter, has local believers in outer space habitation convinced that "at last" they have palpable evidence of a visit by an unidentified flying object. Several UFOs have been reported by Haifa residents this past week.

"It's only reasonable that we're not the only inhabited planet in all the giant cosmos, and here we have down-to-earth evidence," Yossi Borovsky, 50, a travel agent and active member of Haifa's 40-strong "supernatural students," told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Borovsky, shouting to make himself heard over the noise of visitors at the site on Wednesday, said he was anxious to see and evaluate the evidence. While some scoffed that "the evidence" was nothing more than a canopy fire - possibly caused by a Navy flare or a suspicious-looking bottle nearby, which might have been used in smoking pot - Borovsky insisted that it is significant that most of the sightings had been over the Naveh She'an quarter, where the Technion is situated. "They may be after some secret research, that we know nothing about, going on at the Technion," he said.

Moreover, he said, the quarter is where Haifa UFO-group leader Hadassa Arbell, lives. Arbell, 41, who heads City Hall's volunteer services department, has been a student of UFO literature for 20 years.

In her opinion the scorched patch was caused by radiation, or some kind of "cold fire" from the UFO, which she claims had apparently suffered engine trouble. She continued that the oddly-shaped thistle patch that had remained untouched was the silhouette of the UFO pilot, or navigator - his hand outstretched to pull some button.

"He was about 90 to 100 cm. tall, and his silhouette remained unburned as he was obviously wearing some protective clothing, shielding him from the radiation," she said.

Arbell, who was called in by the police as a consultant, after the UFO sightings started here last month, said that though not surprised by the evidence it was the first time she had actually seen any. The UFO was sighted at 10.25 last Monday night by garage manager, Amy Achrai, while driving home from Tel Aviv. "Suddenly I saw a bright light, about 50 metres above the sea for about 15 seconds," he said.

"I never believed in UFOs before, but I do now," the burly-27-year-old said. His wife, Aviva said he had come home "all excited and as white as a sheet."

A senior naval officer said yesterday that the navy had been firing flares at the time of the sighting.

Court confirms Hussein detention

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jerusalem District Court has confirmed a six month administrative detention order issued last month against Palestinian activist Faisal Hussein. The decision by court president Yehuda Weiss was based largely on secret evidence indicating that Hussein maintained contacts with PLO officials abroad.

One of Hussein's lawyers, Avigdor Feldman, said he would appeal the decision today to the president of the Supreme Court.

Hussein, 47, who heads the Arab Studies Society in East Jerusalem, was arrested on September 12 under an administrative detention order issued by Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The security forces consider him to be the top PLO activist in the territories. They say he distributes money for the organization and has been behind numerous demonstrations and strikes.

The district court deliberated for about three weeks behind closed doors on the State Attorney's request for confirmation of the detention order. Details of its decision, taken Wednesday, were not made public.

Hussein's current detention marks the third time this year that he has been held without charges. He was arrested in April in a roundup of over 100 Palestinian activists after the petrol-bomb killing of Ofra Moses near the West Bank settlement of Alfei Menashe. He was served with a six month administrative detention order, but the term was cut to three months by a district court judge who saw the evidence against him. After his release, he pledged to continue his political activities. He subsequently held press conferences and participated in demonstrations against Israeli security policies in the territories held by the Jewish-Arab Committee Confronting the Iron Fist.

In August he was held for 10 days and released. Between prison terms he was under a restriction order limiting his movements to Jerusalem, and requiring him to be home by evening and to report regularly to the police.

Hussein, who was involved in recent secret contacts with Herut central committee member Moshe Amirav, is the son of Palestinian war hero Abdel Kader Hussein, who was killed at the battle of the Castel west of Jerusalem in the 1948 War of Independence.

In another development, the IDF spokesman confirmed last night that a West Bank man, Zakarya Nahas of el-Bireh, was deported Monday to Jordan through the Arava. Nahas, had served 22 months of a two and a half year sentence for membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and providing services to the organization.

'Jews will pay for slandering Le Pen'

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

PARIS - A French political weekly close to the extreme right wing Front National published a sterner warning to the French Jewish community in this week's edition.

Denouncing the "last disinformation operation launched against the Front National's candidate (i.e. Jean-Marie Le Pen) to the presidential election," *Minute* wrote that Le Pen will not be the loser in the campaign of "monumental slander disseminated about his alleged anti-Semitism.... The only ones who are liable to pay for this defamatory campaign, unbearable to sensitive citizens of good faith, are the Jews."

"The Jews will be held responsible although the majority of them do not share the bellicose and low political sensibilities of Theo Klein-type Socialists, nor the hatred exacerbated by electoral failures of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch type pseudo right wingers."

(Theo Klein is Chairman of the CRIF, the body representing the major Jewish organizations in France. His set policy has been one of "No contacts whatsoever with Le Pen." Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch is director of *France-Soir*, a large circulation national daily, and is municipal councillor of the 18th arrondissement of Paris. He is the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch, Chairman of the LICRA, the 'International League against Racism and Antisemitism').

Minute, which has a circulation of 220,000, went on: "Having seen how certain excesses committed in Austria against Kurt Waldheim, and then against the pope himself in Rome, had turned against their initiators, they begin to fear, alas quite rightly, the rebirth of an antisemitism that had been reduced here (in France) to nothing as a result of the horrors of the death camps and of the courage of the people of Israel."

No official reply has yet been issued by the Jewish community.

El Al delays strand holiday travellers

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV - Passengers who flew El Al between Tel Aviv, Rome and Athens on the holiday eve were taken on a roundabout route arriving at their destinations hours after they were due.

Instead of sending one plane to Rome and another to Athens the national carrier combined the flights using one Boeing 747. Israel-bound passengers who had been on the flight said that upon boarding the aircraft in Athens at 9 a.m. they met Rome-bound passengers who said they had left Israel in the early morning, landed at the Greek capital at 6 a.m. and since then were kept sitting inside the Jumbo waiting to continue their journey.

At about 9.30 the aircraft turned west to Italy to let off the Rome-bound passengers and pick up others. The passengers who had joined the flight in Athens were not allowed off the aircraft, and had to wait for about an hour and a half until the Boeing took off, this time for Israel.

Thus instead of arriving at Ben Gurion Airport at 10.30 a.m. they landed at 4 p.m. "It was like flying to America," one passenger commented.

The aircraft landed only one hour before the holiday, too late for observant passengers who do not travel on the Sabbath and holidays to get home. El Al's spokesman could not be reached last night and an authoritative official declined to discuss the matter.



Touring the tunnel: Left to right, President Herzog, Mrs. Herzog, Minister of Religious Affairs Ze'evulun Hammer, architect Dan Bahat.

Temple Mount tunnel to open

By DAVID BAKER
For The Jerusalem Post

A 350-metre tunnel exposing a strip along the western wall of the Temple Mount to its northern end will be opened to the public Sunday. President Chaim Herzog who visited the tunnel Wednesday termed it "a living link between the magnificent past and the present."

Extending northwards from the traditional Western Wall, the tunnel was dug by the Ministry for Religious Affairs under supervision of

the Antiquities Department.

"Now, the entire *Kotel* (Western Wall) is exposed to the Jewish people," declared Minister for Religious Affairs Ze'evulun Hammer.

In 1981, former Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren ruled that the passageway was even holier than the Western Wall "since it is the closest spot to the original temple area and Holy of Holies."

The tunnel route is long and at points slippery. As one advances onward, the air becomes noticeably

cooler, the walls dampen, and the way more challenging. Steel frames support parts of the tunnel, as the way steepens. At the end of the tunnel is a pool, the final point of Herod's sophisticated reservoir system.

According to architect David Cassuto, the archeologists and diggers made every effort to preserve the ancient nature of the passage.

An exit is to be built at the end of the tunnel, eliminating the need for the visitor to retrace his steps.

Added police expected at Acre festival as rival demos due over Arab play

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ACRE - Police reinforcements are expected to help supervise a demonstration by Herut supporters at the opening of the Acre fringe theatre festival tomorrow night.

The planned demonstration, which has been approved by the police, is to protest over the scheduled staging of three plays and the appearance at the festival of East Jerusalem's Al-Hakawati theatre group.

Members of the Citizens Rights Movement said they would hold a counter-demonstration if the Herut supporters went ahead with their protest.

Arab residents of the town have

accused Herut of provocation and warned that the demonstration could damage the normally harmonious relations between the two communities in the mixed Arab-Jewish town.

Herut councilmen, led by deputy mayor David Bar-Lev, originally objected to staging the three plays in the main event, the annual competition for the best play.

Bar-Lev and his colleagues complained that the three scripts, *Zona Tzionit* (Zionist Prostitute), *Azamat* (Gazettes) and *Bikoret Hatzot* (Midnight Criticism) cast a slur on the state and the security forces though they had been approved by the film and theatre censorship

board. But the call for a ban on the plays was rejected by the town council. Mayor Eli de Castro, of the Labour Party, which heads the town council coalition, charged the Herut councilors with trying to stifle freedom of expression.

The Herut councilmen subsequently shifted the focus of their attention to the East Jerusalem theatre troupe, which refused to perform with Israeli flags flying in the background when the group last appeared at the festival two years ago.

Bar-Lev said Herut supporters would raise the Israeli flag at the demonstration, but he stressed they had no intention of causing trouble.

Egypt, Israel to present cases to Taba panel

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Fifteen weeks of mediation efforts on the Taba dispute between Israel and Egypt will get under way next Monday at Geneva as both countries present their "counter-memorials" to the international arbitration panel considering the case.

The "counter-memorials" constitute the countries' rejoinders to the submissions of both countries, presented to the panel in May.

The mediation efforts will continue till February 1, 1988, the date set for the submission of Israel's and Egypt's replies to the "counter-memorials." If no compromise solution is found till that time, the actual arbitration will commence.

The "mediation panel" comprises the Israeli representative to the arbitration tribunal, Professor Ruth Lapidoth, the Egyptian representative, Hamed Soutan and the president of the tribunal, Gunnar Lagergren of Sweden.

The mediation panel will first have to come to agreement on its own procedures. Clause 9 of the Israeli-Egyptian compromise which settled the arbitration matter last December and which deals with the

Vanunu trial resumes December 1

The trial of Mordechai Vanunu, who has been charged with nuclear espionage, will resume on December 1. The date was decided on Wednesday by the District Court, which is hearing his case.

The trial was suspended a month and a half ago upon completion of the presentation of the case by the prosecution because one of the judges had a heart attack.

On Wednesday defence lawyer Avigdor Feldman completed the presentation of his case in the mini-trial on the admissibility into evidence of the confessions elicited from Vanunu. It is expected that the court will rule on Feldman's request to disqualify that confession in its first session on December 1. (Iim).



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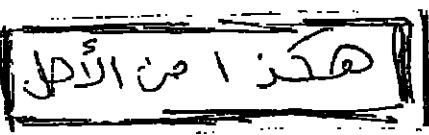
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Japanese-owned ship hit by missile in Iranian gunboat war

MANAMA, Bahrain (AP) — An Iranian gunboat intercepted and then fired a missile at a Japanese-owned vessel and set it ablaze off Saudi Arabia's Gulf coast yesterday, injuring three crewmen, Iranian marine salvage experts reported.

Iraq said its warplanes raided a ship off Iran's Kharg Island off the Persian Gulf coast yesterday, in an escalating attack against shipping in the waterway. There was no immediate confirmation of the raid from Gulf-based shipping agents.

Iranian Prime Minister Hussein Musavi said Iran was prepared for a possible confrontation with the United States. He reiterated Tehran's warning that all shipping in the Gulf would be insecure if Iran's own sealanes were in danger.

In ground fighting, Iraq said 50 warplanes attacked Iranian troop concentrations and supply bases along the central sector of the 1,180-km. front in pre-emptive strikes to prevent a planned Iranian offensive in the region.

The marine salvage experts said the attack on the Tomoe-8, a Panamanian-registered chemical carrier, was the first on a Japan-related vessel after Japanese shipowners lifted a ban on Wednesday against their ships sailing in the troubled Gulf.

The ban was imposed a week ago, after Iranian attacks on two Japanese tankers. Japan, which imports 55 per cent of its oil from the Gulf region, has also pledged to assist U.S. efforts to protect navigation in the waterway.

The experts said the attack on the Tomoe-8 yesterday morning took

place about 96 km. east of the Saudi port of Jubail. A missile ripped through the engine room.

A senior Soviet official was quoted yesterday as calling for a meeting at the UN to discuss the military buildup in the oil-rich Gulf region, led by the U.S. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky said in remarks published in Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates that Moscow believes "a meeting of the UN Security Council's military body is essential to deal with the intensive military presence in the Gulf."

In a dispatch from New York, Petrovsky told the Sharjah-based *Al-Khaleej* newspaper that implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for a ceasefire in the seven-year-old Iraq-Iran war, "must coincide with efforts dealing with the intensive military presence in the Gulf." The efforts of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for implementation of the cease-fire resolution "must coincide with other efforts by some permanent members of the Security Council for self-control." The U.S. and five Western allies — Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands — are massing some 80 warships in the region to protect its sealanes against Iranian threats that include hit-and-run raids on neutral commercial ships and minelaying. The warships include mine sweepers.

The largest contingent of the warship buildup is from the U.S., numbering about 30 vessels. The Soviet Union has about eight ships in the area.

Nobel Prize committee still making up its mind

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) — The committee deciding the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize said yesterday it had reached its decision, but had not yet selected a winner for the literature prize.

Jakob Sverdrup, director of the Nobel Institute in Oslo, told Reuters: "The prize committee has reached a decision." But the identity of the peace prize winner will remain a closely-guarded secret until the official announcement next Tuesday.

Committee sources said earlier four "main" candidates were being considered — Philippine President Corason Aquino, Argentine President Raul Alfonsín, jailed South African nationalist Nelson Mandela and the Geneva-based World Health Organization.

In Stockholm, the Swedish Academy of Letters has reduced the list of about 100 nominees for the literature prize to a shortlist of three or four.

Sources close to the academy say front-runners are Russian-born poet Joseph Brodsky, who now lives in the United States and writes in English, and Mexican poet and diplomat Octavio Paz. "The academy has

not even said whether it will announce the prizewinner on October 15 or 22. That indicates they could need more time to iron out their differences," one source said.

Apart from Paz and Brodsky, exiled Czech novelist Milan Kundera, Mexican author Carlos Fuentes and Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa have also been mentioned as possible literature prize laureates.

"The academy likes to spread the prize geographically around the world," said Arne Ruth, cultural editor of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*. "According to that reasoning, America or Latin America are due for a prize."

The date of the literature award is the only one of the six not to have been announced. The medicine prize will be announced next Monday, peace on Tuesday, physics and chemistry on Wednesday and economics on October 21. The science prizes are again likely to confirm the supremacy of research institutions and scientists in the U.S.

"No one can match the resources of American institutions and this is increasingly reflected in the Nobel science prizes," Swedish journalist Bengt Feldreich said.

Pro-Vietnam Kampuchean gov't offers exiled Sihanouk 'top job'

BANGKOK (Reuters) — The pro-Vietnam Kampuchean government offered exiled Prince Norodom Sihanouk a top state job in a new initiative to solve the nine-year conflict.

The proposal, announced by the official SPK news agency Thursday, included fresh elections to be watched by foreign observers leading to a ruling coalition representing the Hanoi-installed government and all three guerrilla factions.

SPK, monitored here, said the elections would follow a complete Vietnamese troop pullout from the country at the same time as an end to foreign assistance for the guerrillas.

Kampuchea "is ready to offer Prince Sihanouk a high position in the leading state organ in conformity with his contribution to the cause of peace, national reconciliation and the independence of the country," SPK said.



Thousands of Tibetan refugees on Wednesday staged a sit-in on the streets of Dharamsala, India, the home of the Tibetan government in exile, to show their support for the recent riots in Lhasa. At least 20 people have been killed in the recent protests (Reuters)

Lhasa kicks out Western journalists

LHASA, Tibet (AP) — Western journalists covering anti-Chinese unrest in Tibet have been accused of violating rules on reporting and ordered to leave Tibet within 48 hours.

Local officials delivered the expulsion order to 14 reporters shortly after midnight Wednesday, following a day in which heavily armed police riding trucks patrolled the Tibetan capital of Lhasa to stifle further pro-independence demonstrations.

Wall Street Journal correspondent Adi Ignatius, who arrived in Chengdu, Sichuan province, from Lhasa on Thursday, said 14 foreign journalists were summoned to a Lhasa hotel and told they were being expelled from Tibet for failing to receive permission to cover news in the region.

Ignatius said the expulsion order was delivered by Yu Wuzhen, director of Tibet's Foreign Affairs Office, to journalists from the U.S., Britain, Italy, Australia, West Germany and France. Yu said the journalists, who arrived in Lhasa following bloody street riots on October 1, had violated article 16 of regulations on foreign news coverage in China. The article stipulates that foreign reporters wishing to cover news outside Beijing must apply 10 days in advance to the local foreign affairs office.

According to a pool report out of Lhasa carried by Ignatius, a heavy

show of police force kept the city quiet Wednesday, the 37th anniversary of the Chinese Red Army's advance into Tibet.

On October 1, China's national day, about 14 people died when some 2,000 Tibetans clashed with Chinese police. It was the worst violence since a failed uprising against Chinese rule in 1959, when the Dalai Lama fled the country.

The report said a 20-truck convoy, including 13 vehicles packed with more than 300 heavily armed police, was seen driving through the city Wednesday. Many shops and markets were closed and all of Lhasa's monasteries were sealed off by blockades of police brandishing automatic weapons and pistols. Foreigners were forbidden to enter the monasteries.

The report also said that on Tuesday, dozens of monks staging a peaceful demonstration were beaten with clubs, rifle butts and belts.

The Dalai Lama, at a news conference Wednesday at his exile home in Dharamsala, northern India, gave his support for peaceful protests for Tibet's independence and said unrest was inevitable because of "China's colonial rule." The Tibetan issue also threatened to fray ties between Beijing and Washington, with China's foreign ministry issuing a "strong protest" Wednesday over a U.S. Senate resolution criticizing Chinese policies in Tibet.

Fatso who got stuck in doorway starts losing weight at 450 kg.

HEMPSTEAD, New York (AP) — Three weeks after getting stuck in a doorway, a man who broke the scales at 450 kg. stopped gorging on junk food for a diet that includes dried fruit and sesame seeds.

It's paid off. Walter Hudson, 42, already has lost 10 cms. around the knees. He still is heavier than the heaviest man listed in the Guinness Book of World Records, who is less than 400 kg.

Hudson has biceps like flabby watermelons. He has a 2.6-metre waist. His knees are 1.5 metres around, down from 1.4 metres. His neck is 56 cms. Somewhere along the way, he said on Wednesday, he stopped caring what people thought of him, and only started caring again after he got stuck in his bedroom doorway and had to be extricated by rescue workers three weeks ago.

Hudson's plight was widely publicized. He got calls from exercise expert Richard Simmons, Overeaters Anonymous and Dick Gregory, the one-time comedian who runs a weight-loss clinic in the Bahamas. "I'm absolutely surprised he's not dead," said Gregory, who has taken on Hudson as a client, and hopes to get him to lose enough in three months that he can be taken to the clinic.

On his diet Hudson has to drink 1,700 gms of orange juice a day, mixed with a diet powder supplied by Gregory that is meant to reduce hunger. Hudson says he has tried other diets, but speaks with resolve about this one while lying on the bed that has been the focus of his life for 27 years. He has not been outside since his family moved to Hempstead 17 years ago.

High official: Soviets to quit Afghanistan 'in near future'

BRUSSELS (AP) — A top Soviet official said yesterday that Soviet troops will leave Afghanistan "in the near future," clearing the way for the country's membership in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Lev Tolstunov, president of the Supreme Soviet, the USSR's legislative body, also said Moscow was ready to reduce its conventional forces to Nato's level.

"The Afghanistan problem will be resolved in the near future," he told a press conference.

"The country will have its independence as a non-aligned state," Tolstunov did not say when Soviet troops, who were ordered into Afghanistan in December 1979, would return home. Western intelligence has put the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan at about 100,000.

Tolstunov was in Brussels heading

an eight-man Supreme Soviet delegation in week-long talks with members of the European Parliament.

The visit was widely seen as an important step toward establishing diplomatic relations between the European Economic Community and Comecon, the Soviet-led East European bloc.

On the issue of security, Tolstunov said them Kremlin favoured the withdrawal of all foreign troops throughout the world.

"Everybody should be back at home," he said. For the Soviet Union, he said, this meant withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan, Mongolia and its Warsaw Pact allies.

For its part, Tolstunov said, the U.S. would have to withdraw its troops from Europe, the Pacific "and all the countries which surround the Soviet Union." He said

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was ready to limit his nation's conventional offensive weapons "to the level of the other side." Another member of the delegation, former cosmonaut Alexei Elyseev, said Moscow was "very interested" in strengthening economic ties and joining forces with the West in scientific research.

"Space research offers tremendous prospects for cooperation," he said.

Rudi Arndt, the West German leader of the European Parliament's socialist group which invited the Soviets, said the visit represents an "absolutely crucial, decisive moment in the post-war history of Europe." He said the visit "shows quite clearly that mutual relations are taken very seriously on both sides," end

Tamil attacks continue

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka (AP) — Tamil rebels are reported to have killed 12 people, including eight Sri Lankan soldiers, in overnight attacks, while government television said a missing four-man crew was slain by rebel fighters.

The assaults Wednesday night and Thursday morning follow the deaths of more than 160 people in two days of violence blamed on the dominant rebel militia, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

The four Sinhalese reporters for state-run Rupavahini Television were said to have been the first journalists killed in the 4-year-old Tamil conflict.

One report from a source close to the Tamil rebels said the four men were shot Wednesday and their bodies strung up on trees in Jaffna, 300 kilometres north of Colombo.

In the capital, a military official said the eight soldiers were killed in two separate attacks Thursday morning in which Tamil rebels detonated buried explosives under army vehicles. The official, who cannot be identified under briefing rules, said one explosion was near Mannar in the northwest and the other near Trincomalee in the east.

The other victims killed in attacks Wednesday night in the island's east

were two policemen and two Sinhalese civilians.

The eastern districts of Trincomalee and Batticaloa were reported tense Thursday, with most shops closed and streets largely deserted. Hundreds of Indian peacekeeping troops and police patrolled the regions.

Sri Lankan newspapers, in editorials, decried the Indian soldiers' failure to enforce an Indian-brokered accord intended to end the 4-year-old Tamil insurgency. Some Indian newspapers also called for the more than 10,000 Indian troops in Sri Lanka to take a stronger stand.

The minority Tamils have been fighting for independence in the north and east. The Tamils, who are mostly Hindus, claim they are discriminated against by the majority Sinhalese Buddhists, who control the government. In an accord signed by India and Sri Lanka on July 29, India guaranteed to bring about peace and disarm the rebels.

But violence has persisted, first in feuds between the dominant Tigers and smaller Tamil militias and, in the last week, in attacks on Sinhalese blamed on the Tigers. Tiger officials have denied their men were involved.

Spy's escape leaves Swedish security men red-faced

STOCKHOLM (AP) — The government and the elite security police came under sharp attack yesterday following the escape of a prisoner who was serving a life sentence for selling defence secrets to the Soviet Union.

Stig Bergling, 50, slipped away Tuesday when he was left alone with his wife on an overnight leave from prison. His arrest in 1979 exposed leaks that prompted a revamping of Sweden's security network.

The government launched a probe into why no guard was posted outside Bergling's apartment and why it took more than 24 hours to alert border police after he vanished, said state-run Swedish radio.

"Bergling's escape raises serious questions about the effectiveness of our system of justice and about the safeguarding of our national security," said Conservative Party leader Carl Bildt.

Bildt said the latest scandal further tarnished Sweden's image, already suffering from its failure to find the assassin of prime minister Olof Palme after an 18-month manhunt and the inability to stop foreign submarine intrusions into Swedish coastal waters.

Bergling worked in military intelligence and later in the Security and Intelligence Police (Sapo), with access to information about defence installations, planning and resources.

Profiles of Bergling in the Swedish media said some of his contacts with the Soviets came when he served in the Swedish contingent of the UN forces in the Middle East.

He was arrested at Ben-Gurion Airport by Israeli authorities who suspected that he had been spying on Israel.

Peruvian bombings mark "Che's" death

LIMA (Reuters) — Marxist rebels bombed the U.S. Consulate and the Bolivian Embassy yesterday to mark the 20th anniversary of the death of Latin American revolutionary leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara, police said. There were no injuries.

Police said rebels of the Tupac Amaru revolutionary movement were responsible for two bombs that shattered the glass facade of the American Consulate and ripped through the lobby of an adjacent apartment building at dawn.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

'Absentminded' woman gets away with robbery

ATHENS (Reuters) — A woman stole valuables worth half a million dollars from an Athens safety deposit box which bank clerks opened for her after she said she had lost her key, police said yesterday. They said the woman went last month to the Commercial Bank of Greece in the centre of Athens and told the clerks she had lost her deposit box key.

The clerks said she asked them to open the box and replace the lock. She then picked up the contents, worth more than 70 million drachmas (half a million dollars).

The theft came to light when the legal owner called at the bank to check his possessions.

Feminist angle swamps Norway with reporters

OSLO (Reuters) — Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, swamped by foreign media interest in the number of women in her cabinet, will star in a brief film aimed at keeping television crews at arm's length. "Roughly two-thirds of all requests we get for interviews focus on the women-in-government angle," Oleivind Oesteg, Brundtland's spokesman, said yesterday. Eight of 18 ministers in her labour government are women.

Former Greek president Tsatsos dies at 88

ATHENS (Reuters) — Former Greek president Constantine Tsatsos died here yesterday after a long illness, Athens radio reported. He was 88. Tsatsos was a veteran politician who became president after the overthrow of the military dictatorship in 1974.

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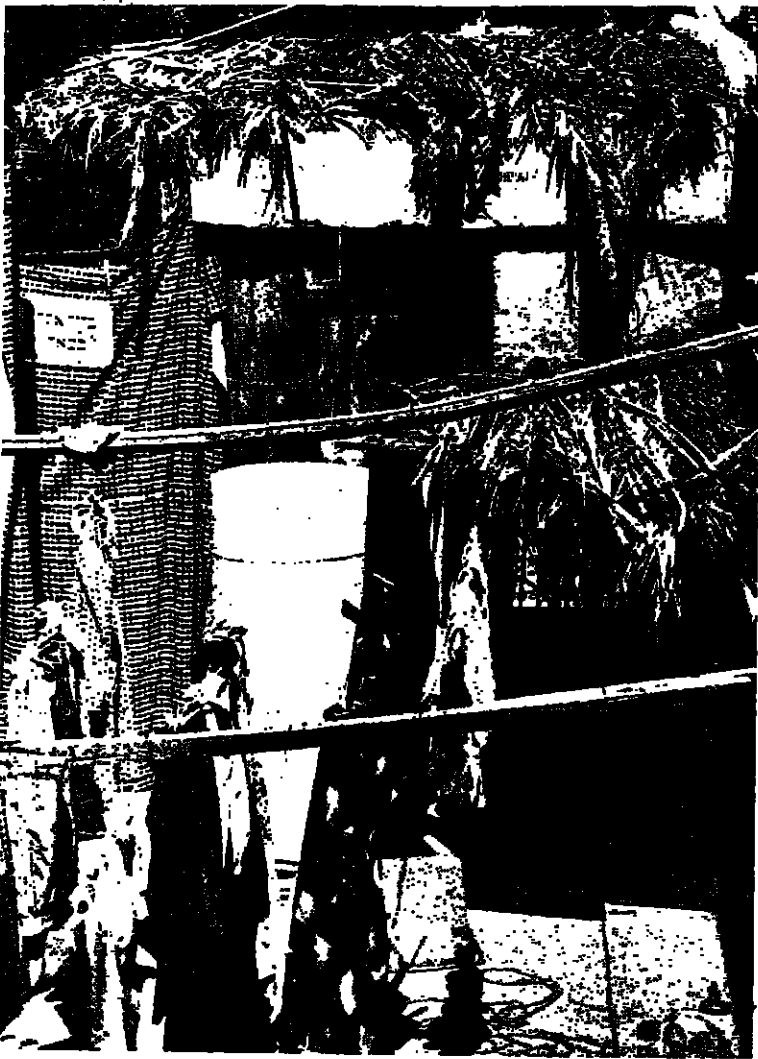
with the participation of Av Beit Din of Erloi which will take place, with G-d's help, on Saturday, October 10, 1987, Tishrei 17, 5748, at 8:30 p.m. at the Yeshiva, 1 Rehov Yotam, Katamon.

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At the time of year when Jerusalemites break out the wooden planks and foliage, *The Jerusalem Post* took to the streets to catch a glimpse of *succot* in the capital. In some sections, every available balcony and plot of land is suddenly occupied by spare lumber and odd bits of material, traditionally used to build the booths for the holiday. Children peer out of their *succa*, above left; a score of *succot* rest on their balconies in the Batel Hungarim Quarter, above right; laundry on the outside, *succot* on the inside in the Shomrei Emunim Quarter, left; *succa* by numbers, below; dwarfed in the shadow of a minaret, a soldier's *succa* in the Old City, at their outpost overlooking the Western Wall, right.

(Text: David Baker. Photos: P. Tikiner/Media.)



First Arab Israeli consul gets warm welcome in Atlanta

ATLANTA (AP). — Israeli Consul-General Mohamed Massarwa, the first Arab to be named to an Israeli diplomatic post, got a warm welcome from Atlanta's Jewish community this week.

"As long as he's for Israel it doesn't matter whether he's Arab or Jewish," said Rabbi Nathan Katz of Congregation Anshe S'farim, who was one of about 100 people attending a welcoming reception hosted by the Atlanta Jewish Federation on Monday night.

"Tonight shows that Israel, as a democratic country, believes that everyone has rights," he said.

Massarwa, who began his new job here last month, said he hoped the city's Jews would join him in setting an example for the Middle East.

"I hope with your help and your kindness that we will succeed in establishing a precedent for a new generation ... [to show that] Arabs and Jews can live together," he said.

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BACKGROUND/Greer Fay Cashman

Behind the blackout

The central aim of the National Association of Journalists, which ordered the current blackout of Israel radio and television, was to secure wage parity between broadcast journalists and their colleagues in the print media. Other demands were to establish norms for freelance after-hours work by Israel Broadcasting Authority employees and to devise preventive measures against arbitrary dismissals.

Last April the association approached the IBA management with a request to begin negotiations on a new wage agreement. The response was that there was no point in entering into negotiations prior to the signing of a new wage accord for the public sector. In the immediate aftermath of the signing of the wage accord, the union called on the Broadcasting Authority to start negotiating, but there was allegedly no response at all.

Management was notified last Sunday of the impending general meeting and of the possible consequences. Still no response. There was no immediate reaction from management on learning of the outcome of the meeting, but panic began to set in towards evening.

The strike is total and also includes Israel Radio's overseas services. There will be no television broadcasts other than those of Educational Television and the Second Channel.

Journalists Association heads warned members that a drawn-out strike might spur the enactment of

Second Channel legislation. Coincidentally, the Knesset committee charged with formulating the Second Channel Law, on Tuesday told Communications Minister Gad Ya'acobi that amendments to the draft were near completion and would soon be ready for presentation to the Knesset for its second and third readings.

Ya'acobi, who is also acting Education Minister in the absence of Yitzhak Navon, met on Wednesday with IBA chairman Micha Yinnon to try to find some way out of the crisis.

IBA director-General Uri Porat, who was in Vienna when the strike was declared, said that he would cut short his vacation. The IBA spokeswoman announced that since the signing of the public sector wage agreement, the IBA has been in constant contact with the Treasury's chief wage negotiator to seek a means of getting around the legal snag which places IBA employees in the same category as public sector workers. The IBA cannot negotiate new wage agreements, she said, without the approval of the Minister of Finance.

It is unlikely that such approval will be forthcoming if the journalists persist with the strike, Finance Ministry spokesman Yitzhak Feinberg told *The Jerusalem Post*. "We don't negotiate with strikers," he said, adding that with respect to wage accords the Broadcasting Authority is no different from any other public body unless there is a formal legal agreement which states otherwise.

He was unaware of any such an agreement, he said.

The second issue under contention involves a form sent to all IBA journalists, requiring them to state what outside work they do and how much they earn from it. "It's like having to prove that you haven't committed a crime," declared Gideon Remez, chairman of the radio works committee. The association has instructed all journalists to ignore the form.

As for arbitrary dismissals, Porat recently fired Giora Tzur, the television reporter for the south because he also worked for Negev Communications, which in Porat's view constituted a conflict of interests. Yet, noted Gideon Eshed, a member of the Journalists Association's executive, Porat readily allowed journalists to appear in commercials, which the association regards as a breach of ethics.

Association chairman Amnon Nadav, said at a press conference on Tuesday, that the association had been so busy with the issues at hand that it could not deal with the alleged problem of the political manipulation of the Broadcasting Authority. Porat, he said, was a political appointee, not a professional, just as the virtually non-existent IBA management committee was a political rather than a professional body. "Once we get the wages and the other urgent matters out of the way" he promised, "we'll begin to tackle the political problem."

Diplomat helps arrange 'sulha' for Israel's 40th birthday

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK. — Israeli Consul-General Moshe Yegar arranged a *sulha* (conciliation) on Monday when he helped bring about a ceremonial handshake between this city's most prominent arch enemies: Mayor Ed Koch and billionaire developer Donald Trump.

Both Koch and Trump are among the New Yorkers who serve as honorary chairmen of the Israel 40th Anniversary Tribute Committee, and both were on hand Monday together with Yegar at a City Hall ceremony kicking off the 40th anniversary celebrations.

Trump, 41, the builder of Trump Plaza, a luxurious apartment building on Fifth Avenue, has been feuding loudly with Koch in recent months over the mayor's opposition to giving Trump massive tax breaks

to build a gargantuan office and apartment complex called Television City on Manhattan's West Side.

Trump, who is said to harbour ambitions of running for president as a Republican, has recently called Koch "an idiot mayor" and "a moron." Koch has responded by calling Trump "piggy, piggy, piggy" and belittling Trump's ambitions.

With the cameras recording the moment, Koch twice reached behind Trump to light a ceremonial menorah. Finally, the two rivals obliged the cameras by extending their hands to each other, with Yegar looking on benevolently.

Yegar acknowledged that the handshake was not of Sadat-Begin dimensions, noting, "I wouldn't exaggerate that handshake. It was quite brief, but I think everyone was pleased."

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Strategic realities in the Middle East are changing rapidly. The Soviet Union is making inroads while U.S. policy seems to be in the doldrums. The Post's Defence Correspondent, Hirsh Goodman, examines why

GEORGE SHULTZ'S HEAVY LOAD

WHEN WE, in the past, have tried to sell arms to Saudi Arabia, you Israelis have opposed us on the grounds that the Saudis have done nothing to promote peace in the region," a senior American official mused recently. "Well, this time," he continued, "the peace process has stopped in Jerusalem, and it's about time you folks in Israel began to think about the consequences of that."

The thought was an utterance of frustration, not a threat. It was Israel, after all, that had been crucial in convincing a reluctant and sceptical American administration to become involved with Jordan's vision of an international conference to begin with. And it was now Israel that was making it impossible to move ahead on the issue.

The Americans fully understand the problems Israel is having with its two-headed government, but it doesn't sympathize with the situation. The feeling is that Shimon Peres was way out of line when he came to Washington and promised the moon, and that Yitzhak Shamir is taking the word obduracy to the limit. They feel that much bigger issues - American interests in the Gulf and within the context of general East-West relations - are being jeopardized by Israeli political parochiality. And, to add insult to injury, while Israel is guilty of all of the above, Israel's friends in Washington are actively subverting American interests in friendly Arab states by blocking proposed administration arms sales to these countries.

All in all, therefore, Secretary of State George Shultz's visit here in two weeks time will not be taking place under the most auspicious of circumstances. And worse, coming as it does in the context of similar visits to Jordan, Egypt and Moscow which leads one to assume that the secretary has come to speak about the peace process - the visit will probably cause him to leave more frustrated than when he arrived.

America's problems in the Middle East at present, are many. After having effectively shut out the Soviet Union with the signing of the Camp David accords almost a decade ago, America has watched with growing consternation as an effective Soviet Mideast policy begins to take hold. This

policy, as it has manifested itself in recent months, is comprehensive, imaginative and bold.

In the summer, just as the Egyptians were complaining bitterly to the Americans that they could no longer afford to pay back \$800 million a year in interest on its military debt to the U.S., Moscow announced that Egypt would be allowed to defer repayment of all its military debts to the Soviet Union indefinitely.

A few weeks later, in response to a Kuwaiti plea for international protection of its shipping, the Soviet Union agreed to flag three Kuwaiti long-haul tankers that spend negligible periods of time in the Gulf. America responded by flagging 11 short-haul tankers that spend almost all their time in the Gulf.

When America, because of pro-Israeli congressional action, balked at selling Jordan F-16s, the Soviets immediately offered Hussein 40 cut-rate Mig-29s with no payment expected for the first three years, and then an unlinked, no-interest, standard annual payment of \$80 million till the debt is covered.

THE SOVIETS have not confined their actions to America's Arab friends, but have initiated a new pattern of relations with Israel as well. Poland and Hungary were allowed to open legations in Israel; more Soviet Jews, including many prominent refuseniks, are being allowed out; tangible diplomatic overtures, such as low-level diplomatic ties and consular activity, have been initiated by the Kremlin; Soviet spokesmen now speak of an international conference now being able to take place without the PLO; more cultural exchanges are taking place.

All these are undeniable, if not yet understood, changes in Soviet attitudes toward Israel - and they are all coming at the same time that American-Israeli relations have undeniably changed for the worse.

There has also been a marked change in the Soviet attitude toward Syria. The now-famous Gorbachev remark to President Assad at a state dinner in Moscow this summer that for Russia not to have relations with Israel was "abnormal" is one reflection of this. Russia's explicit pressuring of Assad to



patch up his differences with Yasser Arafat's PLO, and to enter the peace process, is another.

In real terms, the Russians have informed Assad that they will not continue to supply him with unlimited means to pursue a war option against Israel - a policy the current leadership in the Kremlin apparently feels is both futile and self-defeating. They have publicly announced that they will not be supplying the Syrians with SS-23 ground-to-ground rockets; and only eight Mig-29s have been sent to Damascus, more as a gesture than anything else.

In the Gulf, the Soviets have embarked on a major effort to assume the peace-making role between Iraq and Iran. According to some observers, including Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, ending the Gulf war, has become the main item on the Soviet agenda.

As opposed to the Americans, who can only show muscle vis-a-vis the Iranians, the Soviets arm, finance and speak to both sides. Soviet officials have been ferrying between Baghdad and Iran with growing consistency and have managed to make

some inroads into Iran's total refusal to consider peace while Saddam Hussein remains at the helm of Iraq. This they achieved by means of restraining Iraq on the one hand, and by blocking a second anti-Iranian resolution passing through the U.N. on the other.

Whether the Kremlin will indeed be influential in ending the Gulf war remains an open question. What is important from America's perspective is that no matter where officials in Washington look in the Middle East, they see the Soviets active, and themselves frustrated.

When the American administration tries to reschedule Egypt's debt, Congress and the banking system get in the way. When the Americans attempt approaches to the Iranian regime, the initiative turns into a nightmare from which the Reagan administration will never recover. When the administration tries to sell planes to Jordan, Israel's supporters make it impossible. When they reflag Kuwaiti tankers and commit themselves to freedom of shipping in the Gulf, the Iraqis bomb the tankers and the administration is reduced to threatening retaliation against Iran and pleading with Saudi Arabia to use its American-supplied, hyper-sophisticated army to help protect Arab oil.

SO, GIVEN the current climate of things, when George Shultz gets here at the end of next week, one fears that he will not be his usual genial self. He is going to want some clear answers from Israel's leaders before meeting his Soviet counterparts, King Hussein and, to a lesser extent, President Mubarak of Egypt. He is going to have little patience for Shimon Peres's perennial optimism about Soviet, Jordanian and Palestinian forthrightness, or for Yitzhak Shamir's oft-heard litany of suspicions.

He is going to want to know where Israel stands and what it stands for; whether the Reagan administration, by going ahead with the current initiative, is likely to land up looking foolish again, or whether there is a real chance of the president's achieving his Mideast policy goals before the end of his tenure.

Unfortunately, we know the answer to the question. There is no chance of Shultz hearing anything that even begins to resemble an agreed-upon Israeli position on the future nature of peace in this region. The mere mention of the words "international conference" makes Shamir livid, while the prime minister's alternative plan, based on functional autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, is total anathema to Peres.

Several times in recent months, when rumour had it that Shultz was about to embark on a Mideast tour, those close to him said that the secretary would only undertake a mission if there were a reasonable chance that "something substantive" would emerge from his efforts.

If the Americans believe that this will be the case this time, they are either in possession of some revolutionary new incentive that will induce Shamir to climb down from his high horse - or else they are embarking on a fool's errand.

One suspects, unfortunately, that the latter is probably the case, providing the men in the Kremlin charged with winning back the Middle East for Russia, with one more reason to smile.

Wolf Blitzer on how U.S. Jewry is taking sides in the dispute in Israel over peace talks

THE SPLIT GOES PUBLIC

WASHINGTON. - No one should be very surprised that the very serious split between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres over an international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict has now spilled over publicly into the American Jewish community.

Given the extent of the highly-publicized differences between Shamir and Peres and their intense lobbying in recent months among their respective constituencies in the United States, this was inevitable.

Thus, the American Jewish Congress, in a lengthy policy statement, has virtually endorsed the Peres point of view. The statement said that it was both "necessary and appropriate" for the organization to take part in the current debate because the Israeli government "is divided and deadlocked over how to approach the peace process." It went on to support the establishment of an international conference for breaking the current impasse.

The Zionist Organization of America, on the other hand, sided with Shamir.

"The debate within Israel pertains to a crucial issue and it is not appropriate for an American Jewish organization to interfere at such a crucial state," Paul Flacks, the ZOA's executive director, said. "More confidence should be expressed in Israel's ability to follow a democratic process which ultimately will arrive at a conclusion which must be first and foremost in its own self-interest. The AJC should not presumptuously conclude that this requires its intervention to break the deadlock."

But while insisting that it was "inappropriate" for an American Jewish group to interfere in the Israeli debate, the ZOA nevertheless went

on to oppose an international conference.

"Our own analysis of the situation leads us to a totally different conclusion" than that of the American Jewish Congress, Flacks said.

"It's our view that the potential danger for America's ally, Israel, in an international peace conference, under present circumstances, far outweighs its potential for peace."

Americans for a Safe Israel, which supports the basic Greater Land of Israel principles of Gush Emunim, went even further than the ZOA.

"It is irresponsible for an Israeli foreign minister to come before an international body and discuss the international peace conference without the consent and approval of his government," Herbert Zweibon, the group's chairman, said.

And Herut Zionists of America, as would be expected, strongly condemned the American Jewish Congress action. "It is outrageous that this so-called congress, who was elected by no one, should attempt to dictate Israeli foreign policy," said organization president Hart N. Hasen, "particularly when their decision runs contrary to Israeli public opinion."

An international conference, he added, "would give the Soviet Union and China, both longstanding enemies of Israel, a position to increase their power in the Middle East at the expense of Israeli interests."

On the other hand, Na'amat USA, the Women's Labour Zionist Organization of America, totally endorsed Peres' position.

"We support an international conference as a step toward peace," it said. "We agree with Shimon Peres that if we do not exert every effort to move the peace process forward at this time, another opportunity may not present itself for many years."

OTHER MAINSTREAM Jewish organizations were taking more cautious attitudes. They were reluctant to adopt formal policy positions on an issue which has caused such division within Israel. Still, there was obviously a temptation for them to align themselves, sooner or later, with one of the various factions in Israel.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), for example, was expected to urge his organization to support an international conference during its national convention early next month in Chicago. Schindler is a former chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

The current chairman, Morris B. Abram, issued a formal statement following the release of the American Jewish Congress decision, which expressed the traditional non-interference position of the American Jewish community. Over the years, American Jewry has sought to stay out of these kinds of debates within Israel. Israeli - not American Jewish - lives were at stake if Israel made a mistake and, as a result, the U.S. community has historically deferred to Israel on security-related questions. The community has felt

uncomfortable telling Israel what is in its own best national interest and has tried to put forward a unified front, keeping dissent to a minimum.

There are also practical reasons for this low-key approach. Among the constituent groups belonging to the Presidents' Conference are those that support both Labour and Likud as well as religious and secular views. The chairman must try to reflect the consensus - a rather difficult chore.

The same is true as far as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (Aipac), the pro-Israeli lobbying organization in Washington, is concerned. On its executive committee sit Jewish leaders representing virtually all points of view.

If either the Presidents' Conference or Aipac were to go too far in siding with Labour or Likud, the organizations could begin to come apart.

"There are strongly divergent views about the wisdom and nature of an international peace conference both in Israel and in the United States," said Abram. "The people and the government of Israel have the responsibility for the safety of the state and, therefore, they must make their decision through their democratic process."

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith International, took a similar stance. He said the ADL would not follow the lead of the American Jewish Congress in going public on such an issue. "We won't do it," he told The

New York Times. "For me, the stakes are too high to make a mistake. When and if Israel makes up its mind on how to proceed, we'll deal with whether we support it or not."

But there is no way that the current debate can be stifled in either Israel or the American Jewish community. Indeed, there are increasing numbers of Israeli leaders and American Jewish activists who have come to welcome what they consider this open exchange of ideas.

PERES, WHILE answering questions at a Presidents' Conference meeting in New York on Oct. 1, endorsed the "importance of pluralism in Jewish life." He said American Jews have a right to speak out on the issue of an international conference. It is just as much a life-and-death issue for the future of the Jewish people, he added, as is the question of "Who is a Jew?"

Labour MK Abba Eban, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, agreed. He told a group of American Jewish

leaders in New York on Monday that they had every right to get involved in the debate. He strongly defended Peres's decision last week to tell the Jewish leaders that they can express an opinion on the matter of an international conference.

Eban recalled that when he helped to establish the Presidents' Conference in the 1950s - he was then Israel's ambassador to the United States - and the late Nahum Goldman was the group's first chairman, a letter was exchanged between the Jewish leadership and the Israeli government noting that their dialogue would always be held "with complete frankness" and "with complete freedom."

But Eban charged that Shamir's attitude toward American Jewry was one of "keep your pockets open and your mouths shut." He said that a position of silence among American Jews was unacceptable since it could be implied as favouring a continuation of the status quo - a very dangerous course for Israel.

But the debate in Israel will continue, as will its echo in the American Jewish community. The fact is that today, American Jewry is simply too involved with and concerned

about Israel to remain silent in the face of the very angry and bitter debate within the country itself.

In their own ways, moreover, the Labour and Likud leaderships are both directly and indirectly encouraging their respective supporters in the American Jewish community to speak out. Both parties, for example, have many "natural" allies in the American Jewish community. They also have embarked over the years in very effective fundraising activities in America to support their political work in Israel - campaigns that automatically encourage American Jews to take sides on the most important issues facing Israel today.

Some American Jewish groups will feel most comfortable remaining on the sidelines. Others will openly join the fight.

Indeed, since the war in Lebanon and the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal, American Jews have become increasingly emboldened to challenge Israeli policies and actions. In earlier years, their questions would have been largely asked privately, away from any media limelight. But today, that is no longer the case. And there can be no turning back the clock.

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Sakharov speaks out on rights

Sam Lipski reports on a meeting in Moscow between Sakharov and a visiting Australian Jewish leader



Sakharov, his wife Yelena Bonner, and the chairman of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs, Isi Liebler, who presented the couple with an illuminated Hebrew calendar last week.

SOVIET Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov has called on Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan not to allow arms reduction agreements to relegate human rights to a secondary place on the agenda at the forthcoming superpower summit in Washington.

While welcoming the progress towards the reduction of the nuclear missile armories of the Soviet Union and the United States, Dr. Sakharov said world security depended not only on controlling weapons but on the development of trust over human rights issues.

"The creation of open societies establishes the basis of such trust and is a lever of equal importance to arms control in the reduction of global tension," Dr. Sakharov said.

Speaking last week in his Moscow apartment on his own nation's efforts to achieve more "openness," Dr. Sakharov credited Secretary Gorbachev and his supporters in the Soviet leadership with a serious commitment to working for *glasnost*, *perestroika* (economic and social reconstruction) and democratization.

"But although Gorbachev and the

people nearest to him believe in the importance of what they are doing for their political programme and the country as a whole, the reforms suffer from a terrible incompleteness. They do not go deep enough," Dr. Sakharov added.

As an example, the distinguished scientist and human rights advocate cited the decision to release some 200 Soviet "prisoners of conscience" earlier this year.

"We are overjoyed, of course, when these people came out. I use the term 'prisoners of conscience' according to the definition of Amnesty International to describe those jailed because of their non-violent struggle for freedom. But at least twice the number released are still in prison. Many are still held in psychiatric hospitals."

"Those who have been released received their freedom as a matter of pardon, an act of mercy. But they were not rehabilitated. This means that there has been no clear official recognition that they were imprisoned unjustly. This failure has reduced the moral impact of their release."

Dr. Sakharov said that the fate of

prisoners of conscience, not only those in the Soviet Union, was one of three key issues of particular concern which he believed should be on the summit agenda. The other two were the need to establish in law the right of free emigration for all Soviet citizens and the early withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

In other comments on *glasnost* and human rights, Dr. Sakharov said:

• There was an urgent need to solve the problem of refuseniks, Jewish and non-Jewish, by clarifying legally the status of those who had jobs which required security clearance. Gorbachev's statement that five to 10 years should be the longest period someone who had such clearance was denied permission to go abroad was the very least that could be expected. But it should be a right enshrined in law and not dependent on the personal views of a leader.

• While the granting of exit visas to some of the long-time refuseniks who have waited 10, 15 years and longer was a welcome development, the critical issue of free emigration for all Soviet citizens remained upmost. The right to leave and re-

turn freely should be guaranteed in Soviet law.

• It was totally anachronistic and unacceptable that Jews who wanted to learn and study Hebrew should not be able to do so freely and legally. The Soviet Union had to abolish all forms of discrimination against the expression of religious and cultural minorities.

DR. SAKHAROV said that the economic changes of *perestroika*, to date, had been mostly limited to rhetoric. "But," he noted, "the changes to the words on the Soviet economy have been substantial and that is very important. As the Bible says: 'In the beginning was the word.'"

He expressed these views in the course of a wide-ranging conversation, at which this reporter was present, with veteran Jewish refusenik Professor Alexander Lerner and visiting Australian Jewish leader, Isi Liebler. Professor Lerner, a leading expert in cybernetics, is the doyen of Moscow refuseniks, having first applied to emigrate to Israel in 1971. Mr. Liebler, chairman of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs

and president, Asia Pacific Region of the World Jewish Congress, was in Moscow to participate in celebrations of the Jewish New Year.

Dr. Sakharov's guests were greeted by his wife Yelena Bonner who participated in much of the conversation over tea and cake served in the Sakharovs' kitchen of their apartment. Bonner said she was pleased that at the recent international book fair in Moscow, the Soviet authorities had allowed two copies of her autobiographical memoir, *Alone Together*, to remain on display although they had previously confiscated the other 28 copies.

She also spoke warmly of the Sakharovs' friendship with leading refusenik Ida Nudel, who has recently been granted permission to leave for Israel. Nudel had sent them fresh vegetables from her small garden plot in Siberia during her confinement there while the Sakharovs were in Gorky.

After their release, in December 1986, from five years of "internal exile" in Gorky, the Sakharovs were assigned an additional apartment in their Moscow building on the floor immediately below. Since they were

allowed to return to Moscow, news of which came in a personal phone call from Gorbachev to Dr. Sakharov, the couple has not been subject to the KGB harassment which has been an omnipresent feature of their lives for more than 15 years. Last week Bonner's elderly mother was able to visit from the United States.

Dr. Sakharov himself, however, despite numerous invitations, has not received permission to leave the Soviet Union to attend international conferences. The reason for the refusals, as conveyed through the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has been his access to "classified information" when he worked on research projects as a nuclear physicist.

Earlier, on the day of the interview, Dr. Sakharov had learned that he would be unable to attend a conference in Sydney to which he had been invited by the Australian Human Rights Commission. Although he had been willing to go, he had not personally applied for permission. But he understood that the request had been submitted to the Soviet authorities through the Australian Embassy in Moscow.

Dr. Sakharov said he did not dispute the right of the Soviet government to limit travel in cases, such as his, where classified work was involved. At the same time, he told Professor Marchuk, head of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, with whom he has often discussed the problem, that he did not believe the reasons given in his case were valid.

He said he had cited the case of Professor Jacob Zeldovich who had had access to the same secrets but who had been allowed to travel to the U.S. last April for discussions at the American Academy of Sciences. Dr. Sakharov said he believed the reason for being treated differently was due to a lack of trust in him by still-influential sections of the Soviet government. In the circumstances, while he was willing, in principle, to accept invitations from overseas bodies, he would not take any action to request permission for such visits.

The interwoven issues of security, travel and free emigration, according to Dr. Sakharov, could only be addressed by legislation. Those who

took jobs in sensitive areas should be warned in advance that they would be limited in their movements for a fixed period. Their signed agreement accepting such conditions should be the only legal grounds for limiting their freedom of movement outside the Soviet Union.

JEWISH EMIGRATION was the most dramatic aspect of the problem of free emigration from the Soviet Union, Dr. Sakharov said, but it was by no means the only issue. There was a large-scale demand for emigration by ethnic Germans and there were many cases where they had waited for decades to leave and where, for whole generations, nothing had really changed.

Dr. Sakharov said there was also a linkage between the right to free emigration and the right to free cultural and religious expression. In the case of Soviet Jews, their right to choose the country in which they wanted to live had to be recognized. But for those who wanted to remain in the Soviet Union, there should be an equal right to live as Jews.

"I hope this will be understood by the Soviet authorities," Dr. Sakharov said.

"I do not know whether those responsible for religious affairs are ready to carry out the changes. They may be too much involved as officials of the state."

"But I am hopeful that the time will come when Soviet Jews will have their own journals in Hebrew, not just in Yiddish as they do now, and that the new editors and writers who will emerge will open up a new awareness of their own Jewish history, something the majority of Soviet Jews do not know at all."

"This is an important question. It can and should be solved. As far as I know, Gorbachev has spoken of Jewish culture from time to time. But unfortunately he has combined it with declarations against Zionism, which are old-fashioned clichés."

Dr. Sakharov said he had noticed that the other old-fashioned clichés had also survived. "We need time for all this reorganization and readjustment. We will have to wait and see if we succeed."

Charles Hoffman interviews Professor Shlomo Avineri, who calls himself a 'student of Soviet and of Soviet Jewish affairs'

What's 'good for the Jews'

SOME people's view of the Soviet Jewish problem is etched in sharp, clear lines. They believe that the rights of most Soviet Jews are firmly set on Zion, that the Soviet regime's experimentation with *glasnost* is a fraud, and that the fate of Soviet Jewry depends mainly on how much pressure Israel and world Jewry can exert on Moscow.

A more complex view of Soviet Jewry's situation now and in the near future, one incorporating various shades of grey, is held by Professor Shlomo Avineri, a political scientist at the Hebrew University. Avineri, whose scholarly work has

dealt with Marxism and Zionism, describes himself as a "student of Soviet and Soviet Jewish affairs."

Avineri dealt with these matters on a practical level as director-general of the Foreign Ministry in 1976/77, and has continued to keep in touch with current developments. He has visited Russia twice in the past 15 months for academic conferences.

Avineri believes that the Soviets are in the process of letting most refuseniks leave the country.

"This refers," he carefully notes, "to those 12,000 Jews who have gone through the tortuous process

of applying for exit permits, losing their jobs and being officially refused permission to leave. It doesn't include those sitting on the fence or those who are thinking about applying." Most of the 5,000 Jews let out so far this year are from this group, he says, and if exit visas are granted at similar or higher rates for the next year, then most of the 12,000 will be out.

"The Soviets now want to get rid of the activists who have been a constant irritant for the past decade. They don't want people who see the country as a prison, and who don't contribute anything to the economy."

"The big question is, of course, what happens when the hard-core refuseniks are finally out. Categorically, I would say, no one knows how many Jews would like to leave the Soviet Union. No doubt there are many. But any figure given is no more than an intelligent guess or creative statistics — this includes the 400,000 figure that is sometimes thrown out."

As more refuseniks are allowed to leave, Israel will face two problems, says Avineri: "First, we will have to make sure that as many refuseniks as possible come here instead of to the U.S. That will be a test for our society. Even out of those refuseniks let out this year, over 80 per cent have gone elsewhere. But direct flights won't solve this problem — they will only create a new kind of 'Prisoner of Zion.'"

The second problem, he says, will be the number of Jews who will feel impelled to apply for exit visas, with all the risks and hardships that this entails. "The desire to leave may not be as pressing. If there are greater opportunities for self-expression, greater economic opportunities and increased pluralism in the Soviet Union that also permits more Jewish cultural expression."

CHANGES are indeed occurring in the Soviet Union, Avineri insists, although we can't assess their long-term impact at this stage.

"If I read the Soviet leadership correctly — and here we are all groping a bit in the dark — it has realized that the present system in the Soviet Union is doomed if some very drastic reforms are not introduced soon."

"These internal changes are not aimed at weakening the power of the Communist Party, of course, but at creating a more efficient society in which the population is less alienated from its leadership. On the international plane, the Soviets are seeking a relaxation of tensions and arms reduction that will enable them to direct more resources to improving the standard of living."

"For all this they need an improved international climate and better economic relations with the West."

This affects Soviet Jews and Israel in several ways. The Soviets are aware, he says, that human rights issues pose a major obstacle in improved East-West ties, and are a major source of criticism of the Soviet Union.

"Thus," says Avineri, "in the less repressive atmosphere in the Soviet Union today, dissidents of all types, including Prisoners of Zion, are being released from prison, and there has been no major persecution recently of Jewish activists."

"The new Soviet leadership is not burdened with the legacy of past repressive policies, and this makes it easier for it to change. It has also realized that its persecution of the Jews and its diplomatic isolation from Israel has not helped in any way — neither for its international image or its position in the Middle East."

In sum, he says, "detente is good for the Jews. Prime Minister Shamir may be right in saying that aliya from the Soviet Union was highest in the 1970s when Israel did not



Moscow worshippers

(David Frishberg)

have relations with Moscow. But this overlooks the fact that this was a time of detente."

The Israeli right wing, he says with some exasperation, "does not understand these things. They prefer their myths instead of a careful reading of reality. But it is a fact that when there is tension between the superpowers, Soviet Jews suffer; when a thaw in relations occurs, more are allowed out and persecution decreases."

He suggests that the Israeli right wing should emulate its American counterpart under President Reagan, and adopt a more flexible view of the Soviets.

SOME Soviet aliya activists in Israel, such as Yosef Mendelevich and Nathan Sharanovsky, have recently asserted the need to maintain a hard line vis a vis Moscow. Mendelevich warned that an improvement in Israel's ties with the Soviet Union should not lead Israel to tone down its demands for the right of all Soviet Jews to leave.

"With all due respect to those who have suffered under the Soviets, a victim is not always the best judge of what is happening in the world around him. People who leave the Soviet Union have an image of it imprinted in their minds that is naturally related to how they were persecuted. They are the last ones to realize when change occurs. They may also still be thinking like Bolsheviks, in black and white terms."

There is no evidence of a trade-off, Avineri stresses, that would sacrifice the interests of Soviet aliya for improved relations with Moscow. "On the contrary, in the past year, there has been a softening of the Soviet line vis a vis Israel, through increased diplomatic contacts, together with an increase in immigra-

tion. And (Foreign Minister) Peres has always said that Soviet aliya comes before normalization of relations."

Furthermore, he rejects the notion that a trade-off of the like suspected by Mendelevich is even realistic. "The world situation and relations between the superpowers influence Soviet Jews and aliya more than Israel's actions or offers do. This is especially so when the Soviets are not even actively seeking to restore full relations with Israel."

For this reason, he says, it is in Israel's interest to be part of the global movement for change, and to have the Soviets involved in the Middle East peace process. "We don't want to be in a situation where new ties are formed between the superpowers, while Israel is still trapped in the post-detente rhetoric of the early 1980s."

He cautions Sharanovsky and others from becoming part of a "rejection front" against an East-West thaw. "There are too many people both in Israel and the U.S. who are making a career out of anti-Sovietism."

AS FOR THE near future, he concludes, Israel should take a combined approach. "We have to acknowledge the changes that have

occurred, but we shouldn't be naive. We have to keep up the pressure, partly through the Americans, so that more Jews will be allowed to leave."

He attaches little significance to the new immigration regulations adopted by the Soviets, which permit exit visas only to those who receive invitations from first-degree relatives. "The Soviets pay little attention to laws and regulations, least of all to their own. It's the numbers that count, and if the Soviets are persuaded that increasing immigration is in their interest, they will find the right bureaucratic rubric."

The thinking today in the U.S. administration, he says, is that it would be realistic to press the Soviets to raise immigration to the average levels of the 1970s, which was 15-20,000 a year. This would mean increasing the current monthly rate — about 1,000 a month — by several hundred.

But this gets us back to how many Jews would be willing to apply to leave under a less repressive social and political climate. And it also focuses attention once again on how many of those who leave will come to Israel.

"It is a completely dynamic situation," concludes Avineri.



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Nili -- 70 years after

Reckless heroes

SEVENTY YEARS ago, on October 9, 1917, Sarah Aronson died in Zichron Yaakov, having shot herself in order to put an end to the torture being inflicted on her by Turkish interrogators. She died without disclosing any secrets regarding her associates in the Nili spy ring established in Ottoman Palestine, the previous year by her brother Aron, to supply information on Turkish and German military movements to the British forces who were planning to invade the country from the south.

Sarah, who was 27 years old when she died, entered the modern mythology on which seven decades of Israeli children have been raised. And yet, in contemporary Israel, the example she set seems almost irrelevant, since the Sarah Aronsons of today are Palestinians, and therefore villains and not heroines, while the interrogators are no longer Turks but Israelis, and therefore not villains, but decent guys doing an unpleasant but necessary job.

We are taught to admire certain ambitions, qualities and acts only when they manifest themselves in our own people. But that is one of the characteristics of nationalism, which is incapable of admiring human traits and deeds on an objective universal basis. But whereas the relevance of Sarah Aronson's heroism to our contemporary reality is problematic, those seeking to understand Likud-Labour relations in Israel today might find a deeper study of the Nili episode highly enlightening.

WHILE ONE TENDS to date the roots of the historic feud between the Israeli left and right to the early 1930s, I believe we can find them in the First World War — long before either Mapai or the Revisionist movement was established. The members of Nili were all sons of the moshavot, the first modern Jewish settlements combining Rothschild ownership and control with individual family initiative.

Aaron Aronson represented the best the moshavot produced: a highly educated man both in his profession — agronomy — and in the wider culture sense. He was an imaginative and clear thinker who was not afraid to act in pursuance of his beliefs, irrespective of how high the risks to himself.

In the long and fascinating letter dated October 9, 1916, to Justice Julian Mack, one of the American benefactors who helped finance the agricultural experimental station he



Sarah Aronson



Susan Hattis Rolef

ran in Adit, Aaron explained why he felt it necessary for the Jews to fight actively against the corrupt Ottoman rule in Palestine and against the Germans, whose fingerprints he observed on the systematic massacre of the Armenians by the Turks. He also explained why he had volunteered to spy for Britain. Aronson's greatest opponents regarding Nili (the acronym of *Nezah, Yisrael lo Yeshaker*, the eternity of Israel shall not lie) came from the members of Hashomer, the predecessor of Hagana.

HASHOMER WAS composed predominantly of the early socialist pioneers. They opposed Nili not because of any objection in principle to the preference for Britain over the Ottoman Empire, but for two main reasons.

First of all, it was a dare-devil enterprise which, while based on a correct prognosis, did not take all the possible repercussions into account. The Jewish community of Palestine was a hostage in the hands of the Turks, and it was feared that if Nili's activities were uncovered,

the whole Jewish community might pay an unbearable price.

Thus, it was felt to be an irresponsible enterprise, carried out by reckless individuals prepared to be heroes at others' expense, and accountable to no one.

As it turned out, it was only the members of Nili themselves who suffered death when the network was uncovered. Not only that, but the official Jewish institutions abroad actually made use of the network to transfer gold to the Jews in Palestine. Yet the fact that Nili did not bring catastrophe to the Yishuv did not affect the argument that it might have done so.

THE SECOND reason for the Hashomer's hostility to Nili was ideological. The young socialist pioneers, who viewed simplicity, the absence of material comforts and self-labour as ideals, felt contempt for the style and mannerisms of the sons of the moshavot, who were portrayed as a new feudal class, shirking manual labour and frequently inclined to dandyism. In many respects, there existed an ideological struggle between disciplined collectivism and unbridled individualism.

The contempt, mistrust and even hatred between the two groups was mutual, and when members of Hashomer had a chance to try to help one of the Nili fugitives, Joseph Lishansky, hiding from his Turkish pursuers, they fired at him instead. He was finally caught by the Turks and hanged in Damascus with another Nili member, Na'aman Belkind, in December 1917.

In later years, the right insinuated that Aaron Aronson's premature death in a plane crash over the English Channel during a flight between London and Paris in 1919, had been caused by foul play. It may be recalled that in 1933, the left accused the right of being involved in the murder of Haim Arlosoroff.

Differences regarding acceptable risks, responsibility for consequences, and style and mannerisms divide left and right in Israel to the present day. Unfortunately, some of the contempt, mistrust and hatred persists as well. Those who seek to normalize left-right relations in Israel, for the benefit of Israel's collective interests and the health of its body politic, thus have 70 years of accumulated residue to overcome. The task seems almost impossible. It is easier to worship Sarah.

The writer is the editor of the Labour Party's "Spectrum" magazine.

I AM A layman. My subject is rabbinis. More specifically, Orthodox rabbis. At once, however, even if that limitation is accepted, we have a problem of categorization.

Who are we talking about? Chief Rabbi Shapiro of Israel? Former Chief Rabbi Goren? Chief Rabbi Jakobovits of the Commonwealth? Chief Rabbi Shayevech of Moscow? Rav Soloveitchik? Rabbi Rackman, formerly of New York, now at Bar-Ilan University? Rabbi Lichtenstein of the Gush in Israel? The Lubavitcher Rebbe? The Sarnar Rebbe?

By referring to these rabbis, each of whom would regard themselves as having *yirat shamayim* and being bound by the Halacha, it is clear that what we call Orthodox Judaism is not monolithic. Nor was it ever.

Indeed, in our own times Orthodox Judaism has undergone profound changes. Over the past 30 years, major differences have opened up. The above-mentioned rabbis reflect some of the divisions within Orthodoxy and, in turn, have also contributed to some of the changes.

By and large what has happened to Orthodoxy has been for the good of Judaism and Jewish life. To cite some of the improvements:

• There has been a dramatic renaissance of commitment to Torah and a renewal of observance of mitzvot which seemed unlikely, if not impossible, as we emerged from the Holocaust.

• There has been an extraordinary expansion in the teaching of *limudei kodesh* — religious studies — and, as a consequence, a burgeoning increase of yeshivot and religious Jewish day schools.

• The religious demography of Jewry has changed with the increase of committed Jews as a percentage of the whole because of their propensity to have larger families. We have seen a significant *hazer bashava* movement, the many young people from non-traditional, often positively secular, backgrounds who have returned to Orthodoxy.

• With it all there has been a new sense of confidence, purpose, even militancy, within Orthodox Judaism.

IS THIS ALL to the good? On balance, undoubtedly, yes. The development and growth of Orthodoxy must be contrasted with the frightening losses occurring among the broad masses of world Jewry. Assimilation, inter-marriage, ignorance of Jewish life and lack of Jewish education have created a very real question mark as to the future of the Jewish people. In this context, the revival of Torah Judaism is obviously of immense benefit.

But viewed from a modern Orthodox or national religious (Mizrahi) perspective there are some negative and troubling aspects of Orthodoxy's resurgence.

Those of us who identify with a modern Orthodox or Mizrahi outlook and are committed to the harmonization of *ahavat Yisrael* and *ahavat Torah* — the love of Torah — must not become biased and accept that everything happening in the religious arena is for the good. It is not.

If we look, for a start, at Israel we must acknowledge the sad fact that the leadership of the religious Yishuv there has moved away from the traditional centrist arena to two separate extremist ideological elements. Both of these elements, I believe, threaten the unity of the Jewish people and the future of Israel.

One of these extremes is effectively the contemporary extension of the East European, anti-Zionist rabbis and yeshivot in their battle with the Mizrahi and its rabbis who supported the Zionist movement.

In their more extreme manifestation in Jerusalem we describe these groups as *haredim* or the "ultra-Orthodox." There are critical differences between religious Zionists and the *haredim* in attitudes towards the contemporary world. But even within the *haredim* ranks there are varying degrees of moderation and extremism.

The "moderate" *haredim* simply reject our belief that we are witnessing *ha'chala de geula*, the beginnings of the Redemption. Some take it a step further and deny the sanctity of the State of Israel. Medinat Yisrael, in their eyes, is nothing more than just another secular state which happens to provide for a Jewish majority.

The ultra of the ultras, who at this stage are only a minority amongst the *haredim*, go even further. They consider it a religious obligation to agitate for the so-called de-Zionization of the State of Israel.

The *haredim* make political demands and, in doing so, most of them have estranged themselves from the Jewish people. Most of them are only concerned with their own sectional interests.

Now, although religious Zionists disagree with all non-Zionists, the



(Rahamim Israeli)

Rabbis and extremism

The dangers of zealotry

Isi Leibler

more moderate elements amongst them deserve our respect even if we disagree with their non-Zionist attitudes. The Habad movement, for example, and many other *hasidic* groups, in contrast to the vicious anti-Zionist Satmar, make a major contribution to Jewish life everywhere in a most positive manner. But the changes for the worse in our religious life must be acknowledged.

WHAT CAUSED these changes within religious Judaism?

Paradoxically, I believe that the Mizrahi leaders and rabbis themselves were responsible for paving the way for these developments. In a very real sense, they suffered from an inferiority complex about their own ideology. The consequence was that they did not trust their own educational systems and they sent their children to non-Zionist or anti-Zionist yeshivot.

They created from within a generation of teachers, leaders and rabbis who had been educated and were now committed against *Tora umada* and, as a consequence, some of them also moved towards anti-Zionism. In time, these graduates from non-Zionist yeshivot themselves assumed roles as rabbis and teachers within the Mizrahi educational framework. They, in turn, began to promote their ideas within the national religious educational system.

In the past 10 years, these trends have accelerated. The vast funds pouring into the coffers of religious institutions are unfortunately directed overwhelmingly towards anti-Zionist and non-Mizrahi yeshivot.

Tragically, while all this is happening, the broad national religious educational system in Israel, which covers the wider community, is regressing and is under attack from the right-wing, anti-*Tora umada* and non-Zionist elements.

The extremists are primarily responsible for the devastating polarization between religious and non-religious Jews. They often profane national institutions. They set themselves apart from all the positive achievements of national religious life, they reject army service, and above all, they are perceived as manifesting a rejection of *ahavat Yisrael*. They provide ammunition for the anti-religious secularist extremists who, 30 years ago, were a declining influence in Israel.

The other extremist trend, away from traditional centrist Mizrahi, includes those who were influenced by Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, son of the former chief rabbi, and a man whose love of Israel and the Jewish people became confused with extreme nationalism. Some of his followers, such as Gush Emunim, do not only believe that we live in the Messianic era; they have even been encour-

aged to believe that the Almighty has given them clear instructions as to what He requires from us in the political domain.

Regarding themselves as the Almighty's soldiers on earth, many of these young nationalists have concluded that major issues affecting life and death, security, and even the very existence of the State of Israel, are beyond rational or pragmatic discussion or consideration.

At this point, a personal observation. As with most traditional Jews, the idea of *Eretz Yisrael hashlema* — the whole Land of Israel — is something very close to my heart.

But to me it is a terrible distortion of authentic Judaism to say that the determination of this issue is beyond the scope of the democratically-elected government and people of Israel, because any concession in ceding land is contrary to Halacha under any circumstances.

SUCH EXTREMIST chauvinism is intolerable. It threatens democracy in Israel. It jeopardizes the very basis for co-existence between Torah and State. It is an attitude which ignores the fact that Halacha, on this as well as many other broad issues, is legitimately capable of being interpreted as supporting a multitude of ever-conflicting opinions.

When the so-called *gedolei hador*, or other rabbis, decide to operate as political directors and strive to impose *halachic* vetoes on political issues that may affect the future physical existence of Israel, then religious Jews must vigorously dissociate themselves from such attitudes.

We are involved here with the complexities of *pikuah nefesh*, the saving of life itself, not merely for one person, but as it affects the possible survival of the Jewish state.

The so-called Jewish "underground," justified the dreadful acts it perpetrated in the name of God. We saw idealistic young men and women from the best and finest homes in Israel, some of them from B'nei Akiva backgrounds, participating in the premeditated murder of innocent human beings.

This descent into extremism has also contributed towards a virtual collapse of the bridges built up over the years with so much loving care by the idealists from the movement. So it is sad that today, as never before over the past half-century, we face a situation in which religious Jews and their rabbis are, by and large, isolated from the mainstream majority.

The third, and possibly most telling aspect of the deterioration in religious Zionist ranks, has been due to our failures in higher education.

In the 19th century, Rabbi Sampson Raphael Hirsch inspired a form

of Tora Judaism that incorporated *virat shamayim* but also encouraged broad understanding and involvement with the world at large.

Tora im derech eretz played a critical role in maintaining Judaism in the western world for over 100 years. Nobody could challenge its adherents in their standard of observance and their commitment.

Until recently, the national religious and modern Orthodox elements unhesitatingly promoted these concepts in their own educational structures. But, regrettably, those Mizrahi children sent to right-wing yeshivot also absorbed a bias and, in many cases, a hostility against *Tora umada* or, as I prefer to call it, *Tora v'hochna* — Tora and wisdom.

Today, Bar-Ilan University in Israel and the Yeshiva University in New York stand isolated and alone in the religious world. They face continuous assault on the grounds that they are not "Tora true" institutions simply because they teach worldly secular knowledge in addition to Tora.

In Australia, for example, we have religious educationalists who maintain that the study of worldly wisdom must be accepted as a sad concession to economic necessity. Today the majority of *hasidic* and non-*hasidic* yeshivot reject contact with secular academic learning.

When rabbis adopt this narrow anti-intellectual approach, they are paving the way for an even further alienation from Judaism by the mass of Jews and Klal Yisrael.

Centuries ago, Rambam warned that serving the Almighty was all-encompassing and not merely restricted to *mitzvot she ben adam lamakom* — the commandments affecting man's relationship to the Divine.

There has been a tendency in Jewish life over the last 20 years for rabbis and Jewish religious leaders to compete with one another in demonstrating who can be more rigorous in relation to the performance of mitzvot which are ritual and ceremonial.

For example, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, the former Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel, ruled that Nechama Leibowitz, the 84-year-old *talmida hachama* and renowned authority on the interpretation of Torah, could be permitted to speak to men but only through a curtain. Earlier — Rabbi Schach from the Aguda Gedolei Hador had said that because of *kol isha*, the ban on hearing a woman singing — she could not speak to men at all.

A question arises: If Halacha was as clear cut as we are often told today, are we to assume that former generations of *talmidei hachamim* and rabbis were all so much more ignorant or less observant than today's counterparts?

Has there been any effort to judge whether some previous halachic interpretations were not influenced by social conditions of the time? If so are they not also capable of reinterpretation according to new social realities — without compromising the essential halachic prerequisites?

SO, WITHOUT promoting the idea of a Reform-like religion devoid of mitzvot other than abstract ethics, it is clear that rabbis in our generation are in danger of being regarded, by most Jews along the non-religious end of the spectrum, merely as interpreters and policemen of ritual observance.

Because many rabbis are perceived to have forsaken their role as moral and ethical leaders, a large proportion of the non-observant regard them as exotic characters whom they would only encounter when they face critical Jewish life-cycle events such as marriage, divorce, conversion and, perhaps, a bar mitzva.

The same dilemmas apply to Jewish education. We hear many angry denunciations of the Reform movement and its Jewish education. But I am convinced that, even in Orthodox terms, it is preferable for a young Jewish child to obtain a smattering of Judaism from a Reform school than to go to a state or church school.

My conclusion is that we need outstanding and courageous rabbis. This, of course, is easier said than done. But we need rabbis who recognize that *ahavat Torah* and *ahavat Yisrael* are inseparable, and who can teach and draw close to all Jews.

We need rabbis who recognize the importance of a middle way without compromising mitzvot or lacking *virat shamayim*.

There is, therefore, a burden and challenge which Jewish history has imposed on this and the coming generation of rabbis. Let us hope, for our sake, but certainly for the sake of our children and grandchildren, that they are up to it.

The writer is president of the Asia Pacific Region of the World Jewish Congress and former president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry.

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The other side of joy

TORA TODAY
Pinhas H. Peli

THE BOOK of Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) is read in synagogues on the Sabbath which occurs during the Succot festival. What connection is there between Succot, also known as "the season for our rejoicing," and this most pessimistic book of the Bible? Some authorities would suggest that there really is no such connection, and that Kohelet is read on Succot only "by default." There are five short books in the Bible known as "the five scrolls." They are: Shir ha-shirim (Song of Songs), Ruth, Eichla (Lamentations), Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) and Esther. Eichla and Esther were incorporated in the liturgy of the Ninth of Ab and of Purim respectively, for obvious reasons. One may also find good reason for the reading of the Song of Songs during the spring festival of Passover and the reading of the story of Ruth during Shavuot, the harvest festival which also commemorates King David. The only scroll which remained unattached to any festival was Kohelet, and Succot of all the pilgrim festivals was left without any scroll reading. Therefore, it seemed only natural to put them together.

Whatever we may think of this rather "slick" explanation, the message which Kohelet imparts has a direct and most meaningful affinity with the festival of Succot.

Readers of the book have asked if there is in fact any definite, overall "message" in Kohelet since it first appeared, and even before it was incorporated in the Bible. According to a talmudic tradition (T.B. Sabbath 30a comp. Psikta d'rav Kahana, ed. Buber, 68b), the "men of the great assembly" who canonized the Holy Scriptures wanted to exclude the book of Kohelet, which was popular in their times, because it is self-contradictory and also contradicts the rest of the Bible. They decided to include it only after much debate, not because they ironed out the contradictions or blotted out the haunting scepticism which fill the book. Those are still there and continue to confound the reader, who does not know where Kohelet will take him next.

Kohelet became part of the Holy Scriptures precisely because of its contradictions and piercing doubts. The Bible is a book of life and life is replete with blatant contradictions and painful questions, always wavering between faith and doubt. Kohelet is not afraid to confront the abyss which faces the living. Its message is that of life itself, seen from a different perspective, the message of hope which hides beyond despair, of meaning which hides beyond absurdity.

Succot is "the festival of ingathering," representing the abundance that we are able to acquire in life. Tora commands us to mark it by leaving the security of our solid homes and possessions, going out to live for seven days in a temporary hut. Succot is indeed *z'man simchatenu* ("the season of our rejoicing"), but it is also the time when we read Kohelet which reminds us that our own life and the world around us



Succot, 'the season for our rejoicing.'

(Scoop 80)

offer little to rejoice about that is lasting.

Kohelet is not read out of masochism. It describes at length all the good and sweet things of *la dolce vita* and states that there is indeed a "time to rejoice." The rabbis, following Scripture, designed many ways to fulfill the commandment to rejoice during the festival. Those include good food and wines, music, gifts, games (see T.B. Pesachim 109a). We know of the hilarious festivities of the "water drawing" during the Temple times (T.B. Succa 51a). To be sure, Judaism is a religion that knows and also practices much uninhibited *joie de vivre*, yet it does not allow us to be lulled into a fool's slumber, or dull our sensitivity to the "other side" of joy, which is part of the reality of life.

This reality includes all the sad phenomena enumerated in Kohelet: sickness, boredom, corruption, tyranny, alienation; death, and all the other evils that deny us full satisfaction from our material or even aesthetic or intellectual effort, and achievements.

ON READING Kohelet today, we cannot but confirm its statement that "there is nothing new under the sun." Not much, if anything, has changed in the human condition. Even the ills of bureaucracy are the same: "If you see in a country oppression of the poor and suppression of right and justice, don't wonder at the fact; for one high official is protected by a higher one, and both of them by still a higher one" (5:7, trans. H.L. Ginsberg).

The uniqueness of Kohelet, however, is not in describing the ills and futility of the material life and its pleasurable possessions ("you can't take it with you," he assures us, 5:14), but in subtly calling our attention to the fact that life can be lived on more than one level. By often repeating all the things that are "under the sun" he focuses our gaze on that which is "above the sun."

"There is nothing new under the sun." Above the sun, however, everything is new, fascinating, startling.

Judaism teaches that in order to reach the level of looking at life "above the sun," where it takes on another meaning, one does not have to step out of life, but stay within it and find those things that make life worth living. Primary among them is not to live only for oneself, as an isolated detached being, but as part of a community. No one can live a full Jewish life on a desert island, no matter how pious and observant he

might be. No one can find real joy if he does not learn how to share it with others. Succot, "the season of our joy" is also the time of *hakhetel*, of the assembly of the entire congregation.

ABBA KOVNER, a great Jew and a great poet, who passed away recently, told of his arrival in Israel after going through the horrors of the Holocaust. He felt alienated from everything and everyone around him. Even after joining a kibbutz, or when standing at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, he still felt as though he was "over there," in the forests where he fought as a partisan or near the extermination camps, where his family and friends perished. He felt cut off, not belonging. And then, someone pulled at his sleeve: "Would you join us for the *minyan*?" he asked. "We need a tenth person to complete the *minyan*." Without thinking, Kovner said, "I put on some head-covering, joined the worshippers and for the first time felt that I had arrived!"

"This," says Kovner (in his *Al Hagesher Hatzar*, p. 121), "is perhaps the most meaningful thing there is in Judaism: to be counted, to know that there are nine others who need you and you need them."

Years later, when Kovner conceived of the idea of the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv, he designed a corner called "the *minyan*," where one sees wax figures representing various Jewish communities, which together comprise one unified *minyan*. While the quorum for a *minyan* is ten, one notices that there are only nine figures standing there.

This was done, explained Kovner on our first visit to the Museum, in order to call out to the viewer: "Come join us, come and be counted, we cannot do without you! We need you as you need us!"

This is the view on life from "above the sun." It is not a life lived only for oneself and by oneself. Such life does not pass by fleetingly, but is joined with the eternal of Israel.

(I would like to dedicate this column to the memory of Captain Alex Singer, the son of Max and Suzanne Singer of Washington, D.C., a hero of Israel, who was killed last month together with two fellow soldiers in an encounter with a terrorist gang on the slopes of Har Dov on the northern border of Israel. May their memory live for ever.)

Rabbi Peli is the Blechner Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben Gurion University of the Negev.



Rare portrait coin of Agrippa I, minted in Caesarea in 43 C.E.; six-sided bottle bearing the name of Ennion from the 1st century C.E.

Fragile reminders of the past

Anita Engle

A DARK blue, six-sided bottle in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art is of outstanding interest. It was found in Cyprus. Not only is it one of the rare glass vessels bearing the name of Ennion, but the decorative motifs on five of the panels point to its association with Succot as celebrated when the Second Temple was still standing. Four of the panels appear to depict cult objects of the inner Sanctuary, as described in the Mishna.

Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem provided corroboration for this theory, when a panel of an identical bottle was found in a rich mansion dating to the final period of the Second Temple.

The central panel bottle found in Cyprus bears the name of Ennion, while on the other five panels are depicted: a tall, narrow-necked jug; a wide-mouthed, two-handled vessel of chalice shape; two crossed keys; a reed flute; and a grape cluster. The objects are suspended from a stylized grape vine and tendril arrangement which loops down from the top of each panel.

The Mishna tells us in tractate *Tamid* 3:6: "They to whom it fell to clear the inner altar of ashes

and to trim the candlestick had already gone, bearing four objects in their hands: an ash-bin, an oil jar, and two keys. The ash-bin was like a large golden three-kab measure... and the oil jar was like a large golden flagon; and as for the two keys, one was thrust into the lock as far as the armpit, and the other opened the door to (the inner altar) forthwith."

It will be noted that the Ennion bottle shows four such objects.

The reed pipes have pride of place next to Ennion's own name. The musical accompaniment to the Succot festivities was provided by Temple musicians playing on reed flutes.

The Ennion bottle itself has been formed in the shape of an architectural structure topped by a fine dome, and is likely to represent a structure of cultic significance within the context of the motifs which decorate it. If such is the case, then the stylized grape-vine from which the keys and the individual vessels are suspended may also represent an actual Temple accessory, which would have been renowned among the pilgrims to Jerusalem at the time when Ennion made his bottle.

of an *etrog*. We believe that is what they are intended to represent: the citron which is an essential element of the Succot ritual, and which appears so frequently on Jewish artifacts.

Some of the pale-blue or ivory white bottles depict Temple vessels, such as are described in the Hebrew sources or shown on other Jewish artifacts such as coins. Others are decorated in high relief with pomegranates, grape clusters and other fruits that figure in the decoration of the succa. They also have a symbolic meaning: connected with resurrection.

All were no doubt intended to be filled with water from the Pool of Siloam (the Place of the Water-Drawing), and taken back as souvenirs of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They may have served the same purpose as the small bags of earth from the Holy Land which are kept for burial, for it is in graves all over the ancient world that these little bottles are found. Fragments of similar bottles were excavated in the shopping

area at the foot of the Temple Mount.

THE GLASS cups and bottles all belong to one "family" and to one period. The glassmakers had to know well in advance who their clients would be, to enable them to make their clay moulds accordingly. The association with Succot, therefore, must have been deliberate.

The makers of the vessels were Sidonians, and some bear the name of their makers. The most versatile and prolific of these was Ennion.

The Sidonian vessels almost invariably include a palm branch in their decoration, and frequently vine motifs. People have been misled by the latter motif to look for affinities with Bacchanalian practices. This might have been the connotation of such decoration on objects made in Europe, but in the area where the Sidonian glassmakers made and sold these vessels, the vine was a symbol of Israel, and it is common in Jewish art from the time of the Second Temple.

The inscriptions on the glasses are

in Greek. They are short statements, such as "Rejoice and be merry," and "Now that you have come, rejoice."

Another type of a cylindrical beaker was decorated with stylized wreaths divided by upright palm fronds, and inscribed: "Take the Victory."

They were originally considered to be trophies for gladiatorial or other contests. It now emerges that these beakers must also have been produced for sale in Jerusalem at Succot.

A signed cup from Cyprus, now in the British Museum, bears the Greek inscription, "Made by Ennion. May the buyer be remembered." (This is a shortened version of the blessing still used today.) The cup has a double handle consisting of two parallel ropes of glass set side by side but distinctly separate.

Similar double handles are seen on metal cups used in synagogues and Orthodox homes for ritual washing of the hands - *netilat yadayim*. The opposed handles on other Ennion cups may have served the same purpose. Symbolic or otherwise, this too relates them to Temple practices at Succot, as indicated by Psalm 26:6, and the Mishna, *Succa* 4:1.

There is another interesting fact which reinforces the possibility that Ennion's double-handled cup, was made to be sold or used under Temple standards of purity. It has a rough, or unworked, rim.

Passages in the Tosephta and the Mishna refer to Sidonian vessels or beakers with sharp rims. R. Eleazar b. Zadok maintained that they should be free from the laws of impurity, since the rough edges made them unfit for use.

The late Dr. Yehoshua Brand believed that, because of the rarity and high value of this special type of Sidonian vessel, the rim was deliberately left unfinished, partially broken off, as it were, and by this subterfuge, the laws of impurity could be bypassed.

Of some 50 complete cups, beakers and bowls listed in a survey made some decades ago by Dr. Donald Harden, about 40 vessels are recorded as having "unworked" rims. This includes the 10 complete cups and bowls signed by Ennion; all the recognizable vases inscribed "Rejoice and be Merry," and the majority of the "Take the Victory" type.

The writer is a glass historian, editor of the monograph set, *Readings in Glass History*.

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THE bewildered Alice exclaimed, as one strange happening after another befell her in Wonderland, "Curiouser and curiouser."

I am tempted to make a similar comment about the weird experience of finding myself in agreement with yet another member of Herut. What makes it particularly amazing is that the person concerned is MK Haim Kaufman. Prior to this, I would have sworn that I would not agree with him even if he told me that the sun rises in the east.

The occasion that inspired my agreement with him was his call for the full publication of the Agranat Inquiry Commission report on the Yom Kippur War. The reason I felt so strongly that he was right was because I had sat through a long programme, *Seven Days in October*, devoted to an attempted objective investigation by Israel Television of who was to blame for the appalling follies that preceded the Yom Kippur War and cost Israel so dearly.

The programme was very good as far as it went but it could not go very far because the three main characters - Prime Minister Golda Meir, Defence Minister Moshe Dayan, and Chief of Staff David ("Dado") Elazar have all gone far, far away to a place where, I presume, they are completely indifferent to what is said about them on television programmes.

The result of their not being around to speak for themselves was that the poor producer was producing *Hamlet*, not only without the Prince of Denmark, but also without Claudius and Gertrude. In fact, the only character available in his cast was the Ghost. This was a grave handicap to his documentary.

These omissions could have been rectified if the producer had been allowed to make use of the still unpublished secret sections of the Agranat Commission's report. The commission was composed of extremely competent and presumably impartial men, who heard all the evidence and examined all the witnesses during their lifetimes.

There has been a tendency among the public to assume that the commission set out to whitewash Moshe Dayan and to achieve this aim, according to popular opinion, they proceeded to blackwash poor Dado. To my way of thinking, there is some merit in this suspicion.

The basis of Dayan's absolution

was the legal view that he, as minister of defence, had no operational control over the IDF. While this may be true in law, I - and, I think, most members of the public - cannot understand what the devil he was doing, *schwitzing* around in uniform and wearing a helmet, on all the battlefields.

For that matter, he was doing exactly the same thing during the Six Day War. Everywhere that Chief of Staff Yitzhak Rabin went, Defence Minister Moshe Dayan was sure to go, again wearing uniform and a battle helmet, and getting into every photograph.

Later, during the Lebanese War launched, I think, partly to erase the memories of the horrifying IDF errors of 1973 depicted in the film we saw - Defence Minister Ariel Sharon was also doing the Dayan act, running around battlefields in uniform as if he was giving operational orders.

The post of minister of defence is supposed to be a civilian job. I think it is high time that a regulation was passed compelling the incumbent to dress like a civilian, as present Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin does, although he certainly has as much right as either Dayan or Sharon to dress up and sport his medals.

THIS SEEMS to me to be one lesson we should learn from the Yom Kippur War - we must stop the minister of defence strutting and playing the part of the hero. The other lesson, of course, is the obvious one that war is not a glorious adventure in which the victor collects the spoils and lives to enjoy them ever afterwards. We did so well out of our three previous wars - the War of Independence, the Sinai Campaign and the Six Day War - that it is understandable we bought the delusion that war can pay.

As the documentary made clear, we managed to extricate ourselves, at terrible cost, from the mess of those early days of the Yom Kippur War. But few Israelis learned the real lesson - that our only hope is not victory, but peace. Hence the war of revenge in Lebanon, that failed so miserably.

So what was on trial in that programme, at least as far as I was concerned, was for this or that individual responsible for not any technical

Curiouser and curiouser

TELEREVIEW
Philip Gillon

or strategic or tactical error, but war itself.

Did the nation as a whole learn this lesson from the follies of the 1973 and 1982 wars? It is hard to say. We still have Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who opposed Camp David, the withdrawal from Lebanon and the Taba arbitration so strenuously, using every means he can to block genuine peace negotiations.

Does he have the nation behind him? We will know in a year's time.

I AM finding Yaron London's new programme on the state of the arts far more interesting than his previous programme on the current literary scene, perhaps because there is a considerable amount of action in the new programme, whereas the old one was only a talk show.

This week the show's highlight was the appearance of Rashid Mashawi, an Arab from a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, who has made a remarkable film about an Arab on a bridge between an Arab area and Israel. On this bridge he has to show his passport but somewhere on the bridge the previous day, he lost this document and is condemned to remain there in perpetuity, vainly begging an Israeli sergeant named Gingi to help him. It is a very good film indeed, judging from the section we saw.

London asked him how he had become a film-maker instead of a waiter or a building worker. Mashawi said he had first come to Tel Aviv as a 14-year-old and worked as a waiter in a cafe in old Jaffa - I presume he meant the picturesque instant Old City, that has been built in modern times as an artist's quarter and tourist resort.

He explained that he had always had a talent for drawing and painting, so it was only natural that he should be befriended by the artists there - he mentioned in particular Moshe Gat and Dan Ben-Amotz. From painting to film-making was a natural progression, as many of his friends were interested in film. In

fact, several of them acted for nothing in his production.

To London's amazement and mine, he had received considerable help from numerous government branches to produce his work although he did surmise that it took him longer to receive permits and aid than it would have taken a Jew.

London wondered if Mashawi resented being a tame, friendly Arab such as liberal Jewish artists wanted all Arabs to be in order for them to hitch-hike on his back. Mashawi answered that he hoped he was not a stereotype for his Jewish friends, but an individual.

Then London got another surprise. He asked his guest how he felt when he went home from Tel Aviv to the refugee camp in the Strip.

The reply completely nonplussed the usually unflappable interviewer. Mashawi said that of course there was much that he loved in the camp - the quiet, the calm, the lack of pressures, the warmth of the people. But the camp offered him no opportunities to fulfil his ambitions as an artist, so he had to go to Tel Aviv, despite all the pressures there.

I MUST take back some of my own things I have said about *Dynasty* from time to time. This week we really got more action than most serials have in six episodes, culminating in a very well-filmed fire.

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Sraya Shapiro

Ben-Gurion and his biographer

BEN-GURION'S biographer, Shabtai Tevet, has a flat filled to the brim with documents he began collecting 14 years ago relating to the life and time of the founder of the State of Israel.

A methodical worker, Tevet started with the purchase of a filing cabinet, where he stored papers divided into two groups: those dealing with people who had some connection with Ben-Gurion and those connected with events in which he was involved.

The collection grew enormously and required separate premises and a paid secretary. So far, Tevet's inquiry has yielded three volumes in Hebrew, compressed into one in the English version published by Houghton Mifflin, of Boston.

"It was the American publisher who enabled me to do such a thorough research," Tevet says. A chance encounter with Austin Olney, head of the Boston firm, in New York, engendered the relationship between the publisher and the author.

"To this day I cannot understand what prompted him to put his trust in me and the subject of my research. Ben-Gurion at that time was not an enticing subject for big publishers."

It was easier with Moshe Dayan. "Everybody was eager to gamble on a biography of him. True, Dayan did not bestow on me the honour of 'authorized biographer,' but he did grant me a number of interviews and recommended me to people I wanted to meet. Dayan's biography was a wonderful dry run in preparation of the work on Ben-Gurion."

Dayan, muses Tevet, is considered a "mystery man." Ben-Gurion on the other hand, was known as "the man who goes declaiming his truth throughout the world" (to use S. Eshar's phrase). "Nothing is further from the facts," Tevet asserts. It was easy enough to see through Dayan. Ben-Gurion is so complicated, so compound, one is fascinated by discovering new facets to his personality as one goes along."

Ben-Gurion's main contribution to the Jewish people, Tevet feels, was his call for statehood. Ben-Gurion himself was surprised that at no time in Jewish history had a leader seriously promoted the establishment of a Jewish political entity.

"He certainly did not consider the Zionist establishment capable of bringing about statehood, not even his own comrades in the Labour Zionist movement. But he urged his



Shabtai Tevet looks on as Ben-Gurion makes his own notes.

State simply to enable mass immigration into part of Palestine — a stand bitterly opposed by the Labour Zionist ideological purists. "At one stage, Ben-Gurion suggested the Hagana take over the Carmel area and declare a Jewish state just long enough to permit a large number of Jews to come over."

Ben-Gurion had more insight than most leading Zionists when he resolved that Zionism hopes lay in the United States, rather than in London. "He went to the U.S. practically every year, and it was there that the Biltmore Declaration was adopted," Tevet notes.

Tevet switched to biography by pure chance. He was a young reporter at *Mishmar*, the forerunner of *Al Hamishmar* when an opportunity to join *Ha'aretz* daily presented itself. He is still nominally a member of the *Ha'aretz* staff, though for years he has not contributed a line to it.

"Gershom Schocken, my editor, was indeed very generous with me. He used me mainly to write serialized investigations into burning issues — Ashdod and the preferential pact with Oved Ben-Ami's group was one of them. Then he allowed me six months leave to write the Dayan biography when it was very uncertain that it would be the publishing success it actually was."

"I am still on *Ha'aretz* payroll, and Schocken publishes my Hebrew books. But, of course, without the Americans I wouldn't be able to pursue my task with so much ease."

"Daddy," his son Shauli once told Tevet, "it's as if you were in a prison cell — going to your office at daybreak and staying there late into the evening. You see nobody, you enjoy nothing."

"It took me 24 hours to think of an answer," Tevet says. And it was: "I see myself rather as a researcher who goes to the sea bed in an underwater bell and observes with fascination the life going on around him."

"It took my son 24 hours to reflect on my explanation before he conceded that I was right."

The published volumes of Tevet's biography end with the eve of the War of Independence. "It is grueling to think that while I write about the establishment of the State of Israel political leaders of the present day do everything to destroy it," Tevet muses.

colleagues to take over the leadership of the Zionist Organization so as to lead it in the direction he proposed. For he felt that the ground was burning, and that the Jewish people were in real danger of annihilation."

Hence the title of the English edition of Tevet's book: *The Burning Ground*. "I had a clear concept of the work before me," Tevet says. It was the real-life drama between the impending cataclysm of a world war (which he perceived five years before it actually erupted) and the dreamers who put the values of justice, society and moral regeneration of the Jews as their prime target."

Ben-Gurion was probably the only Zionist leader who had read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (a copy of

which he bought when his train stopped in Munich), and who believed that Hitler was serious about his intentions. From then on, all Ben-Gurion's actions were governed by efforts to avert, or minimize, the effects of events over which he had no power."

That was the source of Ben-Gurion's apparent inconsistency, Tevet feels. "Calculating that Arab opposition was the main obstacle to Jewish immigration, he sought contacts with the Mufti of Jerusalem to reach a deal in which the future Jewish State would enter into a federation with the neighbouring Arab countries (which were not yet free at the time)."

"He took up the Peel Commission's proposal of a truncated Jewish

This is where the mayor might spend his car savings, wisely and well, and if there's anything left over, use it to generally spruce up the squalid central streets of our city.

THEN AGAIN, the money might be used to get the Carmelit subway running again. Closed since last December, it is not to be reopened for at least another year. Meanwhile, its thousands of passengers have to use the streets, which are choked enough without them.

Another good use would be to speed up the road repairs and resurfacings, which are now carried out only during the morning rush-hours. The workers knock off promptly at 2 p.m., drawing out the inconvenience and leaving pedestrians and motorists to cope as best they can.

Or when the city replaces old sewage and water lines, a job described by the mayor as an "invisible service" when he was criticized recently for going in mainly for "ostentatious projects," the money could be used to get the workers to fill in the ditches they dig across the streets.

At the time of writing, they take anything from a couple of days to several weeks, making the right of way hazardous for axes and suspension. When they are finally filled in, many tend to collapse again after a day or two, taking us back to square one — and incidentally ensuring that we, too, shall have to change cars soon.

IN THE VERY middle of Haifa's main thoroughfare, Rehov Herzl, the underground passage is not only in a sorry state of shabbiness, aggravated by the aggressive presence of tin-can-rattling beggars, but the surface of the floor is in such bad repair that you have to give thanks every time you get through without mishap.

Talking of surfaces, some of the money would be well spent resurfacing the official parking lot, which drivers pay city hall for using, in the Binyamin Park outside the Municipal Theatre. It's simply crumbling, a hazard for car and driver alike. It's not as though the council doesn't know about it. I personally drew the mayor's attention to it at a press conference more than six months ago.

No doubt my fellow citizens have other worthy purposes for the NIS 30,000, but as it was saved on a car, I feel it would be only just to spend it on the roads.

If the money won't go all the way to making good what's wrong with Haifa's roads and sidewalks, city hall might make some economies on the fountains that are inundating the city lately. As long as we don't get about by gondola in Haifa, the roads are a greater need.

We get the Israel we deserve

Avraham Feder

EVER since the end of the biblical period, Judaism as a system of thought, commitment, and practice has been ambivalent about the necessity of having a Jewish state in order for individual Jews to be 'Good Jews.' One may quote rabbinic sources which underscore the indispensability of Shivat Zion — dreaming of the return to Israel and re-establishing Jewish sovereignty there. But for every exhortation in the Talmud, the rabbinic commentaries, and codes, which is 'Zionist,' there are more than an equal number of statements and *halakhot* which legitimize the long-term residence of Jews outside of Israel. The record of modern non-halakhic religious views within Jewish life vis-a-vis Zionism is certainly inconsistent. But halakhic positions are themselves ambiguous.

The fact that today a high percentage of the small number of olim are halakhically observant and that fewer halakhically observant Jews become yordim, should give small comfort to religious Zionists. For if traditional halakhic Judaism were unequivocally Zionist, then it would be clear to all religious Jews that the so-called reawakening of halakhic Judaism in the diaspora — without a commanding Zionist thrust — may be cathartic, but is a delusion nonetheless. Moreover, it should also be clear that the trend towards non-Zionism and anti-Zionism among the Orthodox in Israel is heresy, if not, in the long run, treason.

Every religious Zionist must surely realize that thousands of halakhically observant Jews in the diaspora, if urged by their leadership to go on aliya, would guarantee Jewish demographic superiority as well as increased Jewish settlement in all parts of Israel. Every religious Zionist must also know that thousands of halakhically observant Jews within Israel who avoid not only army service but also other involvement in the full 'marketplace' of activities necessary to the running of a modern state, weaken the moral dynamism of the Zionist dream.

In other words, that the halakha does not unambiguously demand 'Zionism' for all its practitioners cannot but bring into question Judaism's credibility as a carrier of a Zionist message.

But Zionism itself is in a state of disarray — certainly within the secular Zionist sector. To propose secular 'normalcy' in Israel as a sufficient goal is seen today as inadequate to long-term Zionist interests. If we are prepared to seriously study root causes, then we must focus on another concept which has escaped Zionist rhetoric and programming for too long — the concept of revolution.

Classical Zionism called for nothing less than a revolution in Jewish self-consciousness. It insisted on a revolution in thinking about all things Jewish, with specific atten-

tion to the moral, political, and cultural implications of Jewish peoplehood. Models for the understanding of 'revolution' are available from the various communist revolutions of the recent past (eschewing their violent means), the French and American revolutions, and even and especially the revolution led by Moses and represented by the exodus from Egypt.

Accordingly, what Herzl demanded was a radical upheaval in the entire enterprise and exercise of being Jewish. Even Ahad Ha'am, who was less radical politically and who was more sanguine about the readiness of masses of Jews to fulfill Herzl's dream, was no less visionary, no less extreme in calling for a socio-moral and cultural revolution in Jewish life with negation of the diaspora at the core of his vision.

Is Zionism today revolutionary? Hardly, if by revolution we mean dogged single-mindedness of purpose in the pursuit of the overall goal of the ingathering, settlement, and creative absorption in Israel of the majority of the Jewish people.

The Zionist movement in the diaspora today includes, of course, those planning aliya. But essentially Zionism today is a code-word for a range of models for Jewish identification. In the diaspora it includes those who maintain an emotional attachment to the vicissitudes of life in Israel by way of reports in the local press. It includes those who visit Israel regularly or raise funds for Israel or are in some way existentially involved with the fate of Israel. But the people included in these models, are committed, more or less, to remaining in the diaspora.

What should be obvious is that once Zionism allows for such a range of identification models — most of which are not at all committed to aliya, even in the long run, but seek to strengthen diaspora Jewish life in and of itself, while using the reality of a Jewish state to sustain and support the diaspora — then the revolution has become compromised. And a compromised revolution sooner or later invites a counter-revolution. The bitterest aspect of compromise, moreover, is that the forces for counter-revolution are legitimized by the revolutionaries themselves.

In the case of Zionism, the compromise has reached such proportions that the loss of revolutionary momentum is felt even in Israel itself, leading to *yerida*. The classic values of secular Zionism — redeeming the land, socialist fraternity, distributive justice — are just not enough to keep Israelis 'down on the farm,' when Paris, London, New York, and Toronto are so tempting and available.

Are the concepts 'self-fulfillment,' 'revolution,' 'Judaism,' and 'Zionism' mutually exclusive? To those committed to Jewish survival and creative revival in a post-Holocaust era, they need not be and should not be. All the components required for 'self-fulfillment' may be summarized under the double rubric of material needs and spiritual aspirations. A revolution which wants to be Jewish but which has decided that a sovereign Jewish state is a *sine qua non* for Jewishness in a post-Holocaust era must demand a short-term and long-term Zionist programme for the diaspora and Israel which fulfills both material needs and spiritual aspirations.

The Zionist programme must renew itself for a new stage in the revolution. And the revolution must entail a commitment to two planes of exploration and planning: the economic and the educational.

There can be no meaningful aliya and there will certainly be *yerida* if there is no economic growth in Israel, which means that there should be no sacred cows within Israel in the economic sphere. Wherever Jewish Zionist leadership lives, whether in Israel or the diaspora, it cannot be smug with regard to economics.

Moreover, if Jewish education, religious and secular, in the diaspora as well as in Israel, does not begin to discriminate within its subject matter and values in favour of a clear and direct Zionist message, it will not only have betrayed the modern Jewish revolution which created a Jewish state, but will also have aided in fulfilling the direst predictions about Jewish survival.

The recent statement by an American Jewish leader that Israel is too important to be left to the Israelis, should not be taken by Israelis as the insult of a spectator living comfortably far from the arena. Israelis can always throw similar barbs at the diaspora, such as 'Jewish survival and creative revival is too important to be left to diaspora Jewry, even American Jews.' Both these barbs have positive dimensions, however, which are Jewish and Zionist.

If both sides become significantly more humble and more candid, mature economic and educational policies will emerge. These policies will be revolutionary in maximizing the constructive use of Jewish wealth, wisdom, courage and imagination in order to make true self-fulfillment possible in the State of Israel for the majority of the Jews in the world.

We may be fairly certain about this next stage of the historic Zionist enterprise of the Jewish people: namely, that as Jews and as Zionists, the future will give us the Israel we deserve. This last comment is double-edged — both sceptical and hopeful. It is so intended.

Dr. Avraham Feder is director of MAOR, the Foundation for Unity and Diversity in Jewish life.

Mileage to be got from a used Volvo

Ya'acov Friedler



Haifa's Mayor Arye Gurel.

(Hanoach Gutman)

IN THESE times of penny-pinching expenditure, if your elected official saves the taxpayer NIS 30,000, though he's spending your money at the rate of NIS 164 million a year with the other hand, he's still putting you that much ahead of the game.

Haifa's Mayor Arye Gurel achieved just that, saving the NIS 30,000 by replacing his official car, a 1978 Volvo, by a used Volvo, rather than buying a brand new model.

Subscribing, no doubt, to the principle that economies should not only be made, but be seen to be made, he also let the citizens of Haifa know about his noble sacrifice, stinting no efforts to get the message across.

In short, he got a lot of publicity mileage out of his cars.

It all started early this year, when his spokesman sprang the news to the press that Gurel was driving the oldest mayoral car in the country, purchased when he was first elected in November 1978. He was sticking to his trusty steed, though he sometimes had to complete his journeys to Jerusalem by hitching a lift, as it could no longer always negotiate the steep approach to the capital.

Not long after, word was passed round by the city hall's PR machine that because the mayor must do so much travelling, his Volvo with 350,000 kms. on its odometer had at last to be replaced, as even his skilful driver could no longer guarantee to get him there.

In the next instalment of the saga, we were informed that Gurel had asked the city council's finance committee to approve the purchase of a second-hand Volvo for him, because he wanted to save the ratepayers the expense of a new model. The mayor's virtue was the greater, the spokesman noted, as he was not formally bound to get the committee's approval at all.

At few hundred kilometres later, we were told that the committee had voted to buy a new car for the mayor, because it considered it cheaper in the long run.

Gurel did not give up. He demanded a reconsideration, and got the committee to decide to leave the actual vintage of the car up to him.

Finally, your correspondent was informed that a used 1986 model had been purchased, from a car rental firm, at a price of only NIS 54,000, saving the city NIS 30,000.

AS A RESIDENT of Haifa, I have some ideas about how that NIS 30,000 might be spent for the good of the city.

Since the completion last year, of the grandiose NIS 1.5 million pedestrian mall showpiece in Rehov Norda, where *The Post's* Haifa office is located, parking space has become so scarce in Hadar Hacharmel that I

have to leave my car so far away that I feel it has only one moving part, namely me.

However, my daily treks do give me the opportunity to see the streets and sidewalks at much closer quarters. Well, I can report that you don't have to stray very far from the mall, the mayor's pride and joy, to

stumble at best, and break your leg at worst, in the potholes, crumbling surfaces and generally run-down sidewalks, not to mention roadways. For a marathon-class walker, as I have become, they are a laughing matter but for the elderly citizens who make up the bulk of Hadar residents, they are a daily menace.

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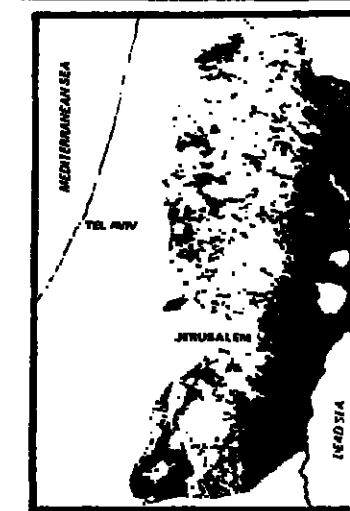
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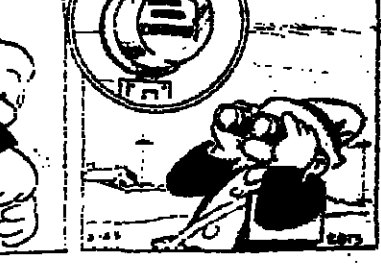
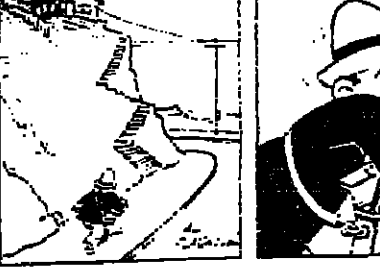
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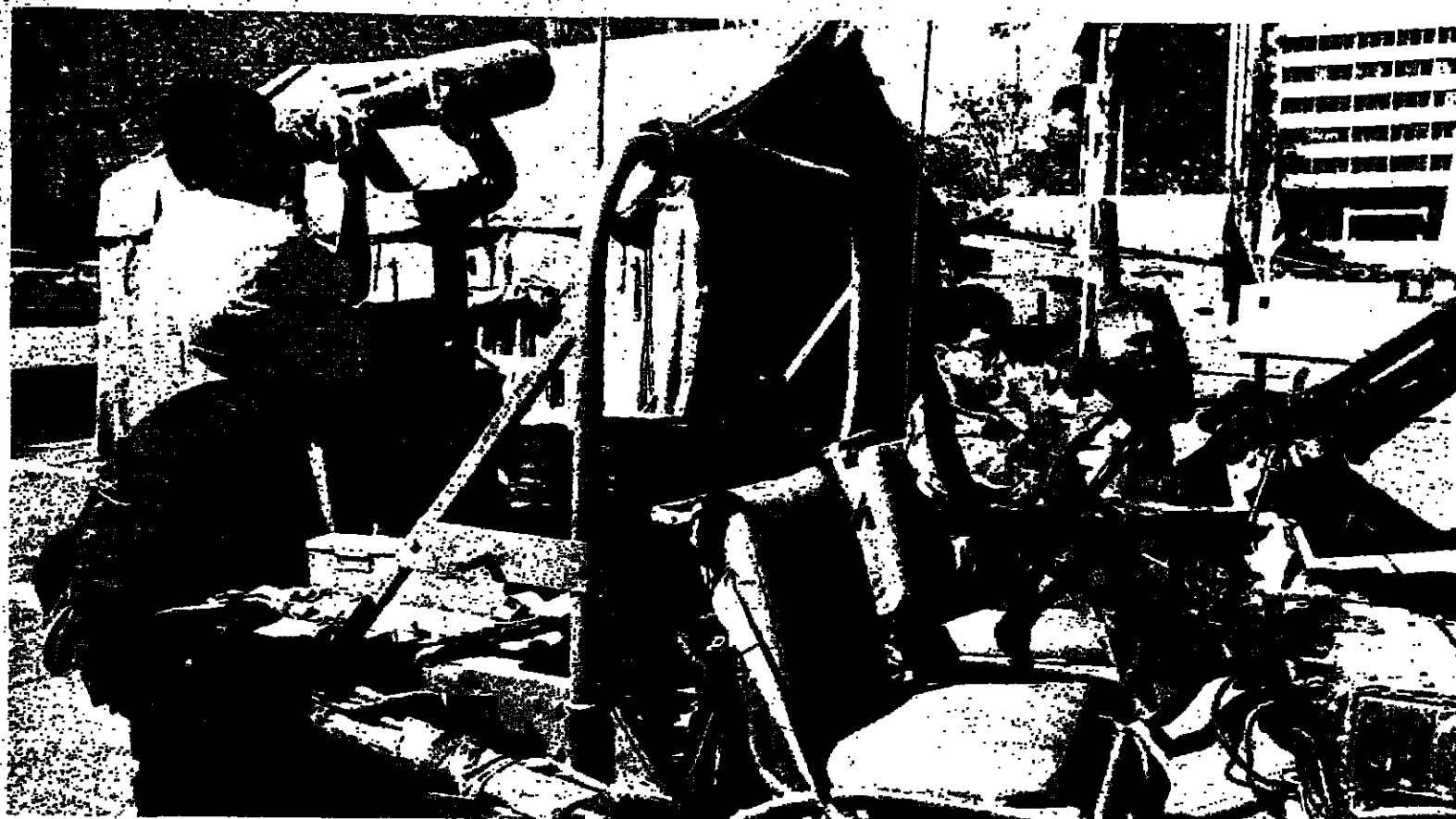
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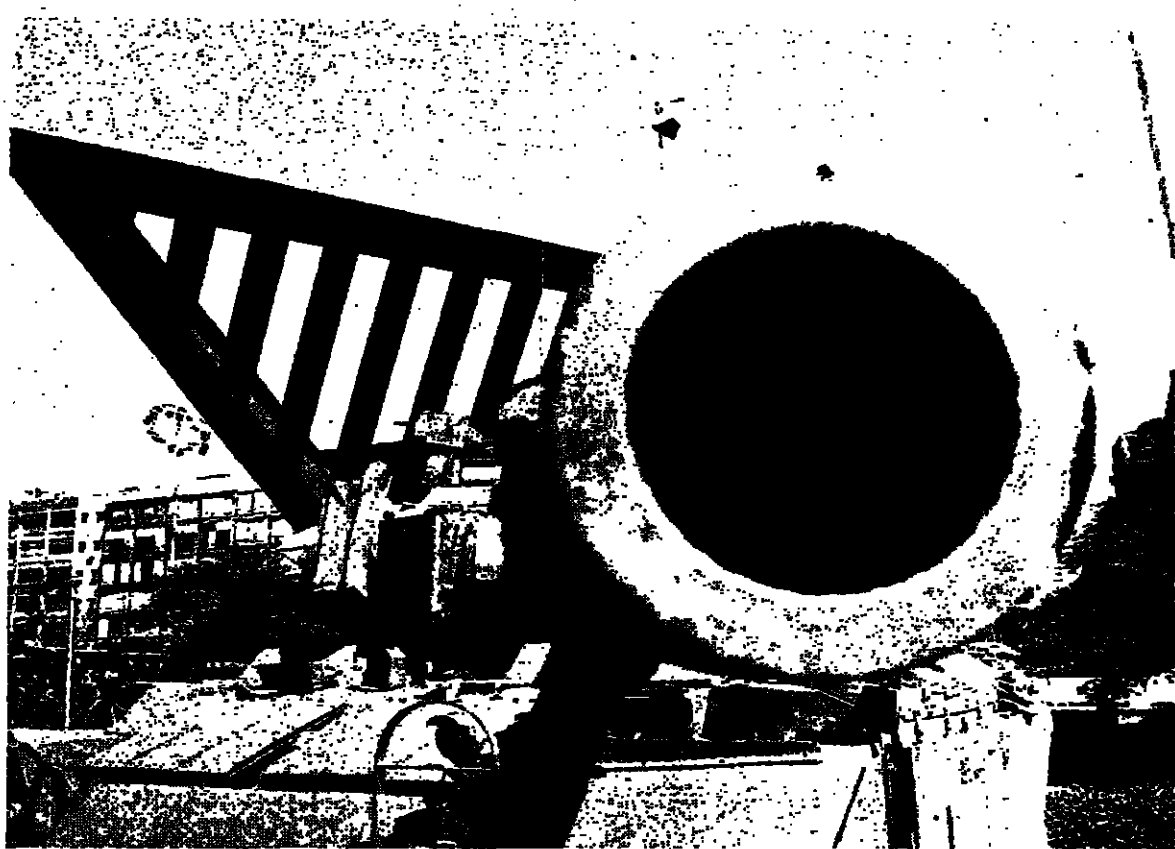
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The tanks return to Tel Aviv



Tel Aviv's Kikar Ma'abei Yisrael looks almost like an IDF depot these days with 10 tanks, armoured personnel carriers and scores of soldiers gracing the plaza in front of City Hall. As on past Succot holidays, the municipality "adopted" the Armoured Corps and gave them prominent exhibition grounds right in the heart of Tel Aviv. The tradition goes back to the Sixties, but after a break of several years Mayor Shlomo Lahat, who was an aluf in the corps, brought the tanks back as part of the display. Above, a young boy uses powerful binoculars to get a close look at City Hall; right, the barrel of a tank's cannon, with Yigal Tumarkin's sculpture in the background; below, a garbage man strolls in front of a tank on Wednesday, before a work slowdown left the city's streets their dirtiest since the last sanctions before Rosh Hashana. The display is open from 10 a.m. until 11 p.m. and will run through next Wednesday. (Text by Jonathan Karp, Photos by M. Daniel/Media)



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YESHURIN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Fri., Mincha 5:05 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8; Cantor: Asher Haimovitz.

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Fri., Mincha 5:05 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8; Mincha 4:40. Cantor Naphtali Hersheg and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, conducted by Eli Jaffe.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 5:05 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8:30. Saturday, Mincha 5:05 p.m. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Yosef Green. Hazzan: Hanan Rutstein. Daily minyan at 7 a.m.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. Sat. 9:30 a.m. Information on college programs; guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

HAR-EL SYNAGOGUE, (Progressive) 16 Shmuel Hanagid, Tel. 02-23841. Friday 6:30 p.m. Shabbat morning 9:30, Rabbi Tovich Ben-Chorin.

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JERUSALEM

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OTHER CENTRES

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HAIFA

TECHNION - Israel Institute of Technology presents Jack Lemmon's narration of "The Technion Experience" at the COLLEGE-CALIFORNIA VISITORS CENTRE. Tel. 04-210694. Sun.-Thurs. 8:30 a.m.-2 p.m.; Fri. till noon.

WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-640840.

ART GUIDE

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JERUSALEM

Museums and Exhibitions

ISRAEL MUSEUM. Opening Exhibitions: Photographs, Boaz Tal, Renaissance themes in contemporary context (13.10.87) & Justin Ladda, new work expressly for Israel Museum (13.10.87). Continuing Exhibitions: Israel Art & Captive Dreams, Jerusalem 1967 Special Exhibitions: The Priestly Benediction on Silver scrolls & Nagav 1967, Magdalena Abakanowicz, & Emphasis, Arish, Arach, Michael Grosse, Igal Tamarin & 3500 Years of Chinese Art (until 31.10) & Tradition and Revolution: The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art & Edmond Shtine, discoveries from Olmit, Nagav & News in Antiquities, '87 & Wondrous India & Toy Sculptures & Permanent Archaeology, Heritage and Ethnology Art Exhibitions: Shrine of the Book (Dead Sea Scrolls).

Rockefeller (Archaeology) Museum: Crusader Art & Animals in Architecture. Check in Magazine for visiting hours.

L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun.-Thurs. 10-11:30 a.m. Fri. closed. Sat. and holiday eve 10-11. Holidays: check with Museum, 2 Hapelsmech St., Tel. 02-661291/2. Bus No. 15.

OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM

Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II, 6 Or Hahaim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun.-Thurs. 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

SIR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Helmet Shlomo: Special Exhibition: Kovno Ghetto, images from Hidden Camera, photographed by Zvi Kadushin, High Holidays Exhibitions. The Making of a Shofer. Permanent exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM. Exhibition: Paintings 1986/87 by Ibrahim Nubani (5.9-16.10). Fisher Hall, Sun., Thurs. 5-8; Wed., Fri., 10-1; Tue. 10-8; Mon. closed. Tel. 224321.

SKIRBALL MUSEUM of Biblical Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College, 13 King David Street, Tel. 203333. Visiting hours: Sun.-Thurs. 10-4, Fri., Sat. and Hol. 10-2.

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HAIFA

Museums

THE REUBEN AND EDITH HECHT MUSEUM FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ERETZ ISRAEL at Haifa University, opened Sun.-Thurs. 10-5; Fri. closed. Sat. 10-1. Free entrance.

HAIFA MUSEUM, 26 Shabbetai Levi St., Tel. 523255. Exhibitions: Music and Ethnology: The Art of Porcelain: Modern Art - Prints from the Atelier Mourlot, Paris: Ancient Art - Egyptian textiles, terracotta figurines, Shikmona finds. Open: Sun.-Thurs. & Sat. 10-1, Tue. & Sat. 6-9. Ticket includes admission to National Maritime, Prehistory & Japanese Museums.

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Haifa: Kfar Sava: Kupat Holim Clalit, Herzl, 715136.
Netanya: Kupat Holim Clalit, 31 Brodetsky, 611123.
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Haifa: Mazar, 97 Hameginim, 521113.

Saturday, October 10
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Tel Aviv: Rokeh (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).
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DUTY HOSPITALS

Friday, October 9
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The National Poison Control Centre at Rambam Hospital, phone (04) 529205, for emergency calls, 24 hours a day, for information in case of poisoning.

Kupat Holim Information Centre Tel. 03-433300, 433500 Sunday-Thursday, 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Friday 8 a.m. to 3 p.m.

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After the electronic earthquake

When the economy was going through its worst years in the first half of this decade, high tech was at its zenith. But when the recovery started, high tech was plunged into crisis. Pinhas Landau investigates this paradox.

WHEN Uzia Gail founded Elron Electronic Industries in 1962, he may — in flights of fantasy — have dreamt of eventually running a group of companies whose combined sales totalled several hundred million dollars.

He may even have imagined that these companies would sell primarily abroad, to every continent, in a broad mix of highly-sophisticated civilian and military products, so that they would be among the first Israeli-based multinationals.

But there is no way that Gail, or anyone else, could have envisaged — in their scariest nightmare — that a company under his chairmanship would lose \$200 million over three years, forcing everyone connected with it to write off enormous sums. That that, or any other Israeli company, should lose so much money and yet live to tell the tale would have been mind-boggling.

Nor could he have conceived a scenario in which he and his associates would wind up on the losing side of a tremendous struggle over whether Israel could, or should, build its own fighter plane; but that that struggle and its outcome should be secondary, although hardly marginal, to the future of his main weapons-systems producer, because of that company's success in export markets, extending to partnerships with top U.S. defence equipment firms such as Boeing.

But this gap between the boundaries of the imaginable and reality's infinite ability to surprise is understandable. Given the state of Israeli industry in general in 1962, and of the high tech sector in particular, which was then not even "fledgling," but more a glint in some people's eyes, it is hardly amazing that the sheer scale of today's businesses, let alone their profits and losses, was beyond the ken even of visionaries.

What is perhaps more remarkable is the following paradox: When the Israeli economy as a whole was going through its worst years of stagnation, rampant inflation and severe balance-of-payments problems, in

the first half of this decade, high tech was at its zenith. When recovery, and then boom came to the economy, high tech was plunged into crisis.

While everything around them was collapsing, the leading companies in both military and civilian applications of technology were moving ahead, from one achievement to the next, in an apparently unstoppable progression.

They were then portrayed, and accepted, as being the central force in Israel's future. This future, so the common wisdom ran, was based on industrial expansion, which alone could close the balance-of-payments gap. At the forefront of industry, it seemed certain, would be the technology-intensive industries.

The rationale behind these claims — indeed, they became an ideology, rather than a mere thesis — was persuasive indeed. Devoid of natural resources and suffering from several other obvious disadvantages, Israel could only get ahead by maximizing the contribution of the few strong cards in its hand.

FOREMOST among these is the intellectual capital known for short as "Jewish genius." This, it was confidently claimed, could invent and produce the goods that modern economies will increasingly be demanding. These goods, furthermore, are characterized by very high levels of "added value." That means that the difference between the sales price of the goods to the final consumer and the cost to the producer of raw materials and other inputs is very large.

This "high added value" can then be divided between the corporation that produces the goods, i.e., the shareholders who put up the capital, and the workers who designed, produced and marketed the item (and who may also be shareholders).

The proliferation of such advanced technology firms would, according to the theory of salvation through high tech, have the following consequences:

□ Allow rapid wealth-creation, and in particular offer the possibility of a higher standard of living to people working in them.

□ Staunch *yerida* of Israel's finest young people, tempted away by the challenges and possibilities of work in the major industrialized countries, especially the U.S.

□ Attract bright young Jews from the Western and Russian Diasporas to Israel, and keep them here.

□ Solve the basic macro-economic problem of the balance of payments and hence move the country toward, or even to, economic independence.

□ Tangentially, all this would have the effect of maintaining or even increasing Israel's qualitative advantage in military terms.

Given these prospects, the temptation to see high tech as a secular religion that would usher in a quasi-messianic era is, even with hindsight, understandable. When one recalls the exigencies of those dark days of "correct economics," financial collapse and hyperinflation, the appeal it had is obvious.

At the very least, it was generally accepted that if and when the hoped-for recovery in the economy materialized, the high-tech industries would be in the vanguard, boosting sales, exports and profits for their own and the common glory.

How ironic then, and how bitter, to consider the extraordinary reality of the last two years, which may be briefly encapsulated in a few headlines:

• Inflation reduced to negligible proportions; devaluation all but eliminated.

• The budget deficit turned into a surplus; balance of payments heading for a third successive surplus, this time without emergency U.S. aid or falling oil prices.

• The economy growing at its fastest rate in 15 years, with the business sector leading the way.

• Tax reform and capital market reform, both of which were regarded as vital for the health of high tech even more than other industries, under way and clearly succeeding.

• Industrial production up sharply — except in the metals and electronics sectors, the home grounds of high tech.

• Exports up strongly, except in the metals and electronics sectors.

The paradox seems so strong as to be overwhelming. The Israeli economy is chalking up phenomenal successes, not because of the primary contribution of the high-tech sectors, or even with their participation, but despite their general failure to participate.

So acute are the questions arising from the events of the last two years, that a new school of thought has emerged, which seeks not only to debunk the myth of technology as salvation, but even to posit a counter-theory, based on the deliberate, heretical rejection of the high-tech religion.

It says that the Jews in the Jewish state will succeed economically not by doing the things that they didn't, or couldn't do in the Diaspora, such as agriculture and large-scale industrial production, but by returning to precisely the things in which they excelled through the centuries — trade, services and everything that facilitates both these and production itself.

The counter-revolution, however, has yet to prove its case in a convincing way. Certainly, the extreme argument that high tech has failed and should be rejected falls down on two key points.

It is now clear that the main problems that have beset "high tech" as a general sector, have been marketing and finance. But, on the historical record, these ought to be strong points for the Jews. Excellence in engineering and quality of product, supposedly, should not, yet without these both Elscint and Scitex would be long dead.

The bare statistics of Israeli exports, especially in areas of high added-value, also illustrate that despite all the progress in less glamorous sectors like food and chemicals, textiles and even diamonds, we would be in a sorry state without our advanced industries.

In addition, the social, educational, and above all the military importance of a wide network of technological infrastructure have to be put into the scales, before any comparative assessments can be made.

But this does not mean that the conclusion to be drawn from the unprecedented crisis in the high-tech sectors since 1985 is that they should be measured in terms of what is good for the country, whether they themselves are economically viable or not. Quite the contrary. The general conclusion that people in the industries involved have come

to is that, for better or worse, they have to pay their own way if they are to survive.

PROBABLY the greatest trauma for the high-tech brigade has been the loss of their preferred status, in terms of subsidies, investment grants, tax breaks and various other forms of direct and indirect government support. The fact that as this has happened the rest of the economy has been having a ball — in other words that the country has boomed while they have gone bust — has served only to rub salt into their wounds.

Since it is now clear to them that no one will save them if they won't or can't save themselves, they have been directing their efforts to precisely that end. The reason it is proving such a long and difficult process is that they are struggling against three crises that broke over their heads more or less simultaneously.

The most general one is, or more correctly was, the world-wide slump in most electronic industries, especially the semi-conductor, printed-circuit board and computer industries. This is also part of a world-wide disenchantment with high tech, similar to that experienced in Israel. In most Western countries the expectation that high tech would usher in the millennium has been dashed. Where the hopes pinned on it were greatest — such as in General Motors — the disillusionment has been correspondingly severe.

Then there was the abrupt, almost merciless, termination of many government support programmes as part of the Economic Stabilization Programme announced on July 1, 1985. This, and the elimination of inflation, cruelly exposed the free-market pretensions of many American-oriented high-tech outfits. It turned out that they were intimately linked to the warped systems of taxation and subsidies that they had affected to despise.

Finally, there were many Israeli firms which were wholly, or mainly, dependent on orders from the IDF paid for by the Defence Ministry's budget. When the hitherto unthinkable occurred, and that budget was cut hard for two successive years, they found themselves not only far up the creek without a paddle but also with a large hole in the boat. They were told to look for export orders, but emerged into a world in which defence spending was shrinking everywhere and competition for orders was unprecedentedly fierce.

SOME FIRMS saw at least some of the writing on the wall. Others were caught in the worst possible conditions by the changes in the Israeli economy and their world markets. Outstanding in the first group was Elbit Computers, and in the second was Elscint.

Both companies are part of the Elron group, whose president, Uzia Gail, is chairman of the board in both of them.

This strange fact in itself indicates that the validity of "formula answers" to explain what is and has been happening in Israeli high tech is severely limited. Considering that Gail himself was one of the first to realize what had happened to the whole sector, and formulated his philosophy for the new era in an interview with this reporter in August 1985, it will be appreciated that the length and severity of the crisis has not necessarily been caused by lack of answers, but by the difficulty of implementing them.

The subsequent articles in this series will examine what the state of affairs is in the Elron group as a whole. In particular, recent developments in Elbit and Elscint will be reviewed. The effect of the cancellation of the Lavi on Elbit will be assessed by both Gail and company president Emmanuel Gil, along with a more general discussion of the future of military electronics in both the home and foreign markets.

As regards Elscint, the focus will be on how the company has kept its head above water thus far, and whether the Elscint story can have a happy ending after all.

The story of individual companies cannot be understood without reference to the general background outlined above. Whether the successes and failures of these companies have general relevance is an open question.

But, given the prominence of themes like marketing, exchange rates and management and control in the very different tales of Elbit and Elscint, it seems likely that everyone, even those not in the high-tech sectors, will find familiar points of reference.

(This is the first in a series of articles.)



(Israel Sun)

"If they give back the territories the Arabs will stop coming to work, and then there you'll put us back into the dead-end jobs like before... Look at my daughter, she works in a bank now, and every evening an Arab comes to clean the building. All you want is to dump her from the bank into some textile factory, or have her wash the floor instead of the Arab".

THIS quote from Amos Oz's *In the Land of Israel* appears in *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water*, a recent study on the situation of Palestinian Arabs from the occupied territories working in Israel. The research project, published by Cornell University's ILR Press, was written by Moshe Semyonov and Noah Lewin-Epstein of Tel Aviv University. It draws a sad picture of what they call "non-citizen Arabs" working in Israel. This is a group of people working in the worst-paid, lowest-status occupations, devoid of union protection and without the rights enjoyed by Israeli citizens. From the book's findings it appears that not only are they occupying the lowest positions, they are destined to remain at the bottom of the social ladder.

The years of the military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza have been accompanied by a tremendous increase in the number of Palestinians from those territories working in Israel. From a few thousand at the end of the Sixties, the number of these Arabs in the labour force rose to over 80,000 in the Eighties.

Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein say that not only were the Arabs from the territories employed in low-status occupations, but as time passed their relative situation worsened. In terms of a combined index of education and rewards, there was a downgrading of non-citizen Arabs, while all other ethnic groups in the economy, Ashkenazim, Oriental Jews and Israeli Arabs, rose in occupational status.

But the research found that this upgrading for the Israeli group was less marked for the Arab component. As for Jews, there was no difference between Orientals and Ashkenazim. The occupational status gap remained stable throughout the years. In terms of the quote from Oz's book, what has happened is that while the occupational gap between Arabs and Oriental Jews has widened, the one between Oriental Jews and Ashkenazim remains at least as large as it was 20 years ago. Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein concluded that when more than one ethnic group stood to benefit from entry and growth of the subordinate non-citizen Arab group, the ethnic group at the top benefited more.

The process of absorbing the territories' Palestinians into the labour market involved the "Arabization" of entire occupations. Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein say that these workers were first attracted into low-income sectors with a relatively large share of older workers which were having difficulties recruiting younger employees. They found employment in construction, as unskilled workers, or as agricultural workers. This was a process of "segregation" whereby more lucrative jobs went to Jews, especially those of Western origin, while the menial jobs were reserved for Palestinians from the territories.

But the process went further. Once there was a large number of non-citizen Arabs in certain occupations, the salaries paid in that line of job went down, including those for the remaining incumbent Jews. Moreover, both Jews and Israeli Arabs started leaving those occupations which were characterized by a large inflow of Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza. But Jews left those

Avi Temkin on West Bank labourers

The bottom of the work ladder



jobs much faster than Israeli Arabs. This process converted such jobs into "Arab" ones.

YET THERE is a profound difference between Israeli Arabs and those from territories. Israeli Arabs enjoy citizenship rights. They benefit from the protection of unions, workers' organizations and labour relations legislation. Palestinians from the territories in contrast are devoid of citizenship rights, they lack political power, are in a permanent category of "temporary" workers, and must periodically renew their work permits. "Consequently, non-citizen Arabs are pressed to supply their labour at a lower cost than others and to 'play the role' of scab labour," Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein say.

The authors quote a recent survey conducted by the Histadrut's Economic and Social Research Institute which showed that in most firms, starting wages for non-citizen Arabs were equal to those earned by Israeli workers in similar jobs. Substantial differences existed, however, in the level of wage supplements. For Palestinians from the territories there were no productivity bonuses, no family allowances or seniority increments. In many cases, the survey revealed, they were required to work more hours for the same daily wage.

Furthermore, according to the authors, a comparison of gross and net wages revealed that the gross earnings of the Israeli worker were in average 17 per cent higher than those of non-citizen Arabs. In some individual cases the gap was as high as 30 per cent between Jews and non-citizen Arabs in the same jobs.

All these figures refer to firms employing Palestinians from the territories legally registered with the government's Employment Service and therefore, some minimum standards would have been maintained. For the thousands of Arab workers from the West Bank working without an official permit the situation must be much worse.

WHILE SEMYONOV and Lewin-Epstein touch upon some of the most important issues pertaining to the massive employment of non-citizen Arabs in Israel, some points were left out. One of them relates to the technological effects of this development. It could be argued that the large supply of cheap labour from the territories discouraged firms from introducing labour-saving technologies. Moreover, for the thousands of Arabs working at the bottom of the ladder, and with very reduced possibilities of advancement, the motivation "to try harder" is practically non-existent. For entire sectors, for example the construction industry, the result of this must have been more than detrimental for productivity.

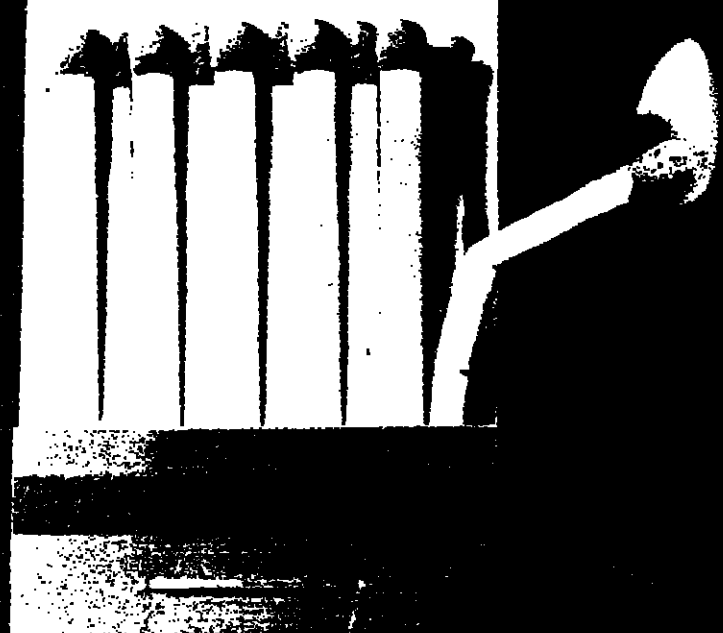
A second point which comes to mind is broader than the issue of the employment of Palestinians. It refers to the structure of the labour market in Israel. As Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein point out, entire occupations in Israel, especially those at the bottom of the ladder, have become Arabized. In addition other lines of work, especially in the public sector and other services, have become feminized. Thus, a process of "segmentation" of the labour market has developed.

The more lucrative segments — those in the liberal professions, in research or management, are manned by male Ashkenazi Jews, those at the bottom — agricultural seasonal workers, construction unskilled workers — are reserved for Arabs. These segments do not compete with each other. It is thus possible to pay thousands of shekels a month for those at the top, and a few hundred for those at the dead end of the ladder.

These are two of the numerous questions, — political, social and economic — that must be asked by a society that is drifting more and more into a South African-type situation. Asking the questions is the first and necessary part, once they are asked, answers will come forth.

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Nissim nixes Sharon request for R&D funds

BY AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Finance Minister Moshe Nissim on Wednesday turned down a request by Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon to increase government support for industrial research and development (R&D) by \$70 million. Nissim also rejected Sharon's request for \$6m. to finance Isratex, the proposed exhibition of Israeli high-tech goods, in New York next May.

Sharon and Nissim were at a meeting with Prime Minister Shamir on Wednesday to discuss Isratex exports. Sharon has complained of insufficient government support for exports, particularly those sent to the "dollar bloc."

He said that unless the budget for R&D was enlarged, Israel would be unable to develop a new generation of high-tech goods to sell in a few years' time. Nissim said the budget could not be enlarged. Though he agreed to allocate NIS10m. for small and medium-sized firms for the production of new products after the R&D stage, he turned down Sharon's demand for a large increase in R&D funding.

Following Nissim's refusal to finance Isratex, the chances that it will take place are very dim. Nissim said the needed funds should come from the committee planning the anniversary festivities. The electronics industries have already indicated

that without complete government funding they would not take part in the exhibition.

On other issues, Nissim was more cooperative. He agreed to meet Sharon to discuss exporters' problems. He also said joint teams from the Treasury and the Industry and Trade Ministry could meet to consider setting up a fund for insuring companies against losses in high-risk ventures and product liability suits.

In a related development the Central Bureau of Statistics announced on Tuesday that exports totalled \$5.9 billion during the first nine months of the year, compared with \$5.6 in the same period last year, an increase of 17.5 per cent. The bureau added that industrial exports, excluding diamonds, totalled some \$3.8b., 14.8 per cent over the same period last year.

The figures also showed that the increase in exports only partially offset the \$1.5b. increase in imports during the first three quarters. As a result, the trade deficit rose for that period by 33 per cent to a total of \$2.3b.

The bureau said that in the last few months the trade gap had narrowed. The average monthly deficit for the third quarter of the year was 9 per cent lower than in the previous three months. The reason for the decline was a 5 per cent increase in exports from July through September over the previous three months.

Questions and answers

By JEFF BROIDE
Question from Jackie of Ra'anana

I am a permanent resident and have not taken Israeli citizenship but have retained my South African citizenship. Would you clarify the two apparently differing statements on tax liability in the penultimate and last paragraphs of your reply to a query in The Post of September 10. At first you say that the tax-free period is 20 years, but afterwards refer to tax liability after seven years. Please let me know when one or the other condition applies.

Answer
In my column of September 10 I say that "the prudent and cautious taxpayer would do well to plan affairs before the end of the 20-year period." In the final paragraph I say "income received in Israel from foreign sources after seven years since the taxpayer's aliya is liable to income tax."

It is essential that tax matters are read cautiously, keeping close to the text. The 20-year period has relevance for two reasons:
a: The new immigrant is not subject to most of the foreign exchange controls until 20 years after his aliya. This, naturally, has both foreign exchange and income tax ramifications.
b: Interest earned on foreign exchange deposits held in Israeli banks is exempt from income tax for immigrants during their first 20 years in the country.

However, income from foreign sources after seven years since aliya, including income from capital gains, is, in fact, liable to tax in Israel. There is, therefore, no contradiction between the two and, as repeatedly stated in this column, taxpayers would do well to plan their affairs

around these two significant dates. As stated previously, capital transfers to Israel, as distinct from income, are not liable to tax.

I trust this answers your question and refer you to previous articles that dealt with the question of new immigrants and the taxability of income from foreign sources.

Question from Z.V., of Jerusalem
What exactly is the position with the deduction of expenses incurred on the rental of motor vehicles? Is the position different on hiring a car while overseas for business purposes - often a car rental may save a great deal of other expenses on overseas travel. Could you clarify?

Answer
I am afraid that the income tax provisions are fairly clear-cut on this matter, namely that car rental payments constitute "fixed expenses" and are, therefore, not tax deductible. The law does not distinguish between these expenses incurred in Israel or overseas, and the tax authorities are not empowered to be flexible, even where such expenses are essential for the production of income or may even reduce other expenses.

If, instead, you were to have paid a transport service overseas for your transport to various places, then it may well be that such expense would be deductible. It appears that one has to make the calculation based on the real cost on the one hand, bearing in mind that such expense may not be deductible, and on the other, the more expensive alternatives, but bearing in mind that these are deductible for tax purposes. The results may often surprise you.

The writer is a Certified Public Accountant (Israel)

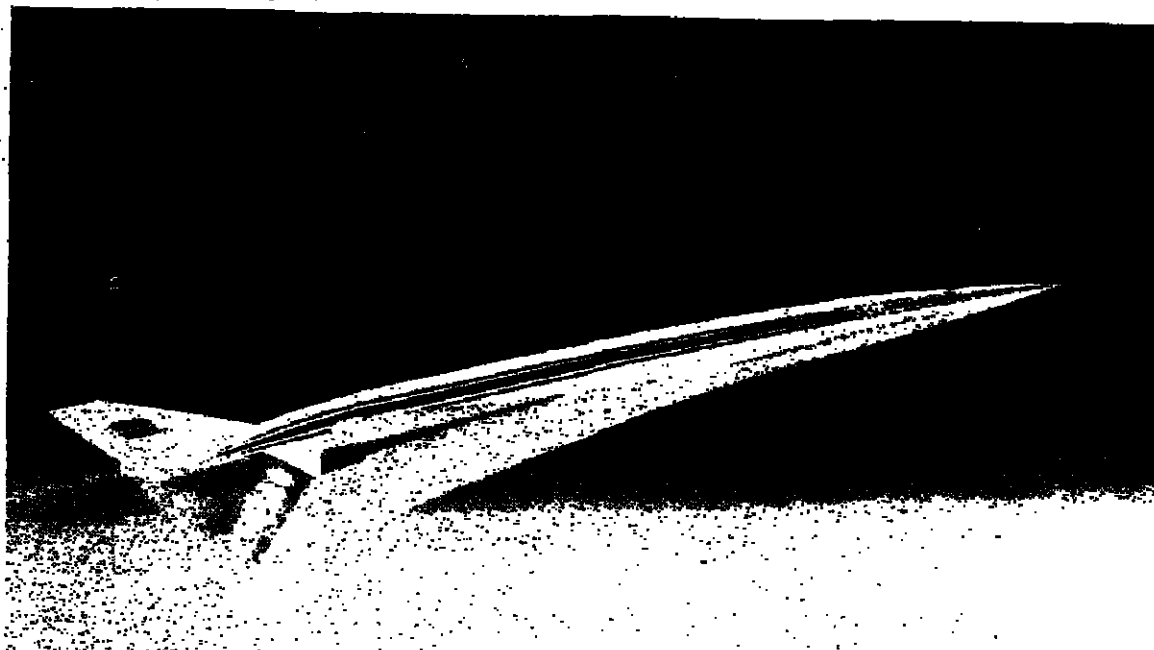
Improved benefits for IDF disabled

TEL AVIV. The Defence Ministry is to reimburse disabled soldiers for recognized expenses and certain taxes more quickly than it has until now, and is to increase the benefits they receive.

The ministry spokesman has announced that the benefits would be linked to the average income of civil

servants and updated to prevent erosion. The new arrangements also provide for speeding up the payment of a minimum wage to disabled soldiers.

The ministry has opened a clinic in Jerusalem for disabled soldiers suffering from head injuries or mental disorders.



Three American firms have each been awarded a \$25 million contract to design an airplane (model shown here) that can take off conventionally and fly into space at hypersonic speed, the U.S. government has announced. The craft is known as the "National Airspace Plane," the "X-30," and the "Orient Express," the latter a reference to the hope that it could fly from New York to Tokyo in two hours. The firms receiving the contracts were General Dynamics, McDonnell Douglas and Rockwell International (AIP)

Matza dynasty toppled by bid to modernize and enlarge its empire

By JEFF BLACK
For The Jerusalem Post

Modernization does not always pay dividends as matza king Haim Cohen-Halperin, one of the most trusted names in Orthodox food production, has learned to his cost.

Cohen-Halperin was the third-generation owner of a family matza bakery which for years supplied Jerusalem's bareid community with the Passover staple. Two years ago, Cohen-Halperin decided to move out of the small, 300-sq.-metre bakery in the Knesset Yisrael area near Mahane Yehuda to a new 12,000-sq.-m. factory at the Atarot industrial zone in north Jerusalem. The aim of the move was to increase matza production from 300 tons to 3,000 tons, nearly half the national output.

The move and the new equipment bought to increase production left Cohen-Halperin with debts of around \$3 million. A third was owed to Bank Discount, which last January pulled the plug on Cohen-Halperin and called in a receiver, Jerusalem lawyer Yoel Shabtai.

Shabtai decided to sell the factory as a going concern: between February and March the plant turned out 250 tons of matza worth \$750,000. Ignoring fixed costs, this left a profit of around \$400,000 to impress potential buyers.

Shabtai received 15 offers for the factory with bidders ranging from food giants such as Osem and Koor Industries to rival matza makers who want to cash in on Cohen-Halperin's reputation for conforming with the most stringent halachic standards.

Shabtai rejected the best offer, \$1,200,000, and at a public auction held last week by district court judge Ya'acov Bazak, the factory was finally bought by the Yadler-Rabinovich consortium, a partnership of two ultra-Orthodox businessmen with no matza-making experience for \$1,675,000.

The consortium's lawyer, Yehuda Cohen, refused to discuss the purchase but The Jerusalem Post has learned that half the sum was paid immediately and that the difference will be paid in annual instalments.

Observers say the factory has potential, providing that proper marketing outlets are established. Though mismanagement by Cohen-Halperin is said to have caused the bakery's bankruptcy, the new owners are reportedly keeping him on to maintain the matza's reputation among the ultra-Orthodox.

At present, the only person at the factory is an Arab guard who says he has heard of the sale but has no idea who the new owners are or when they intend to visit their new acquisition.

El Al and Arkia move to meet demand

Holidays bring extra flights

By JONATHAN KARP
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. El Al has beefed up its timetable for Succot with additional flights to several destinations, including New York and London.

Arkia likewise will try to meet the heavy demand for domestic flights by repeating its "air railway" today between Eilat and Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa, the airline announced yesterday. As it did on the eve of Rosh Hashana, Arkia plans to increase its capacity by using a Boeing 707 in addition to its Dash 7 aircraft.

El Al is making a special effort to

accommodate those passengers bound for Istanbul by adding a Boeing 747 flight to the three scheduled weekly flights of the smaller 707.

"We upgraded flights to Jumbos over the summer as well, when Istanbul turned out to be a big hit," El Al spokesman Nahman Kliezman said. "Turkey is popular now because people realize how close and relatively cheap it is."

Whatever the reasons, the demand has definitely increased and has transformed the once-troubled Istanbul route into a money-maker for El Al. At the same time, how-

ever, the Transport Ministry is in the process of handing over El Al's licence for the route to Arkia.

El Al is keeping quiet about its lobbying efforts to prevent the transfer, which was initiated last August after a series of flight disruptions stemming from the pilots' labour dispute. Meanwhile, the situation is "status quo" because the Turkish aviation authorities have not granted Arkia permission to fly there as a scheduled carrier. At the moment, Arkia crews frequently fly El Al planes along the route, when the national carrier needs cockpit relief.

Shekel Deposits (annual rates)

| Bank | Deposit Size | 1 month | 3 months | 6 months | 12 months |
|----------------------------------|----------------|---------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Last Updated Leumi (Sept. 20) | 40-1000 | 11.50 | 11.50 | 11.50 | 11.50 |
| | 1001-10,000 | 12.00 | 12.50 | 14.00 | 15.00 |
| | 10001-100,000 | 12.25 | 12.75 | 14.25 | 15.25 |
| | 100001-500,000 | 12.50 | 13.00 | 14.50 | 15.50 |
| | Up to 999 | 12.75 | 13.25 | 14.75 | 15.75 |
| Hapoalim (Sept. 7) | 1,000-9,999 | 11.00 | 11.00 | 11.50 | 12.50 |
| | 10,000-49,999 | 11.50 | 12.50 | 12.50 | 13.50 |
| | 50,000+ | 12.00 | 12.00 | 12.50 | 13.50 |
| | 50,000+ | 12.00 | 12.00 | 12.50 | 13.50 |
| | 10,000-99,999 | 11.00 | 11.00 | 11.00 | 11.00 |
| Discount (Sept. 22) | 10,000-99,999 | 12.00 | 12.50 | 14.00 | 15.00 |
| | 50,000-99,999 | 12.25 | 12.50 | 14.00 | 15.00 |
| | 100,000+ | 12.50 | 12.50 | 14.00 | 15.00 |
| | 100,000+ | 12.50 | 12.50 | 14.00 | 15.00 |
| | 10,000-99,999 | 11.00 | 11.00 | 11.00 | 11.00 |
| Mifalal (Sept. 20) | 40-1000 | 9.00* | 9.00* | 9.00 | 9.00 |
| | 1001-2,500 | 10.00* | 10.00 | 10.00 | 10.00 |
| | 2,501-5,000 | 12.00 | 12.00 | 12.00 | 12.00 |
| | 5,001-10,000 | 13.00 | 13.00 | 13.00 | 13.00 |
| | 10,001-50,000 | 13.50 | 14.00 | 14.00 | 14.00 |
| First test (Oct. 4) | 50,000+ | 14.00 | 14.00 | 14.00 | 14.00 |
| | 50,000+ | 8.00 | 8.10 | 8.10 | 8.90 |
| | 10,000-4,999 | 11.00 | 11.50 | 13.00 | 14.50 |
| | 5,000-9,999 | 11.50 | 12.00 | 14.00 | 15.00 |
| | 10,000-49,999 | 12.50 | 12.50 | 14.50 | 15.50 |
| | 50,000+ | 13.00 | 13.00 | 14.50 | 15.50 |

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The sickly health system

TO BE OR NOT to be, that is the question facing Israel's once widely admired public health system. What only recently tended to be diagnosed as but a passing infirmity in the system, is now shaping up as possibly an incurable disease. If emergency measures are not taken to heal it the system may before long be pronounced dead.

The parties directly interested all charge one another with responsibility for the dire prospect. They are all at least partly right. The health minister is right: she is certainly not just crying "wolf" in contending that the Treasury's tight-fisted policy wrecks havoc with medical services and threatens the nation's well-being. The 16 out of a total of 22 groups of health workers that have now declared work disputes - ranging from anesthetists to hospital maintenance workers, and from pharmacists to microbiologists and X-ray technicians - are also right in a fashion: their wages and working conditions are often deplorable and ultimately endanger the lives of patients.

But the finance minister is right, too: Moshe Nissim has reason to fear that the breach of existing labour accords through unplanned wage hikes that could trigger a nationwide round of wage rises will undo the achievements of recovery and hobble growth.

When the cabinet found half an hour last Sunday to discuss the state of the public health system's health, Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino demanded to know whether her colleagues were merely waiting for it to croak. She received no straight answer to her rhetorical query, but it is not inconceivable that some ministers may indeed believe that the system, being too big for its own good, places too much of a burden on the public purse and should be trimmed through privatization.

Private enterprise is in fact already filling some of the emergent gaps in the enfeebled system.

A heart case not trusting a Magen David Adom ambulance to respond promptly to a call for help, may subscribe - for a fee - to a private service that will undertake to arrive on the scene at once, carrying the patient's medical record along on a computer. The months and even years now spent waiting for an urgent cataract or prostate operation to be performed for free at a public hospital may be saved - for a price - by registering at a luxurious private medical establishment, or even at the same public hospital.

Alternatives do exist to the present dying public health system. But what they bode is the social-class stratification of medical care in this country, with high-grade private treatment made available to the well-to-do and poor public service to the poor, and with the middle class managing somehow this way or that. It is hard to believe, however, that the people of Israel will stand for the kind of social order such an arrangement suggests.

The time has plainly come for some bold new, or at least fresh, thinking on the subject: not just improved life-support measures, but novel means of ensuring the survival of the critically-ill patient now stretched out upon the table in full view of the nation.

Kupat Holim Clalit, whose membership represents the vast majority of Israelis, has long fought to maintain its autonomy despite shrinking Treasury subsidies. Lately the Histadrut's sick fund has been working to put its house in order, both by cutting costs and by increasing efficiency and improving service to members. But the fund's rightful claim to a larger government subvention could only be justified, especially in present economic circumstances, by full integration - which it has so far manfully resisted - into a national programme of medical insurance.

Within that framework resources now going to waste could be put to effective and urgently needed use. A radical slimming down of sick-fund bureaucracies could, for example, facilitate the introduction of second and even third shifts at clinics and operating rooms, as well as higher pay where warranted for key professionals and the overcoming of critical staff shortages. It could, in fact, save the patient's life.

GAZA CHASE

(Continued from Page One)

ing a Kalachnikov assault rifle sitting in the front seat, Mordechai said. When shots were fired from the vehicle, security forces charged the car, and Arjoun was hit in the chest, apparently in the heart. He died before a resuscitation team arrived. The three Palestinians in the car were killed. One was hit as he reached for his gun. All the weapons found on the men were loaded and cocked.

Other troops gave chase to a second Peugeot 504, which sped away from the scene. According to Mordechai, its driver failed to obey signals to stop, and ignored shots fired in the air and at the vehicle's wheels. When he got out of the car and fled on foot, he was shot and killed.

A search of the vehicles and a Shajia flat used by the gunmen turned up two Kalachnikov rifles, an M-16 rifle possibly stolen from the IDF, and two Beretta pistols, one 9mm and one .22mm.

The calibre of one of the pistols is similar to that used in the fatal shootings of Jafar Jarusi of Melilot in Shajia on May 25 and of Seren Ron Tal, the Military Police Deputy Commander in Gaza who was shot on August 2 on al-Wahda street. The search also revealed 25 magazines for the rifles, an F-1 hand grenade and explosives. These and bur-

glary equipment found suggested the squad had been on its way to an attack.

A photograph found in the apartment showed the four gunmen posing with their weapons, in a scene reminiscent of similar photographs taken of Palestinians setting out on terror missions against Israel.

Mordechai said he believed some Shajia residents had cooperated with the squad. A curfew was imposed on the neighborhood and it was searched. Fishermen were banned from putting to sea, and security measures along the border with Egypt were tightened to prevent accomplices from escaping.

Violent demonstrations were held throughout the Gaza Strip yesterday, in protest over the killings of the Palestinian gunmen. Palestinian and military sources reported. Demonstrations and a commercial strike were reported in Gaza, where pupils left classes and hurled stones and bottles at troops, burned tires, barricaded roads and raised Palestinian flags. Troops fired in the air and used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.

Similar incidents were reported in Rafah and in several refugee camps. In Khan Yunis, five Israeli passengers on a bus travelling to Egypt were slightly hurt when the vehicle was hit by a hail of stones.

TUNIS

(Continued from Page One)

said threats of reprisals by Islamic extremists had been "overdramatized in the media."

The pro-Iranian Lebanese group Islamic Jihad, which is holding a number of Western hostages, had said in Beirut after the trial that it would start killing Tunisian leaders

if the death sentences were carried out.

The party at the centre of the trial, the Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI) also vowed during the month-long hearings to avenge any executions of its leaders. Neither of the hanged men, however, falls into this category.

How to break the peace-talk deadlock

Gideon Rafael

OF COURSE, it would be much better if the Arab and Israeli governments would volunteer to talk to each other without outside assistance. Even shouting would be better than shouting. But the rift dividing the two sides is still too wide, and the internal distrust in the Arab camp too deep, to make them vault unaided over the abyss of 40 years of hostility in one bold jump.

Now, after five major wars, one peace and four decades of costly and futile warfare, the parties to the conflict seem to realize that there is no military solution except mutual destruction. The conviction has deepened that only a political settlement can end, if at all, this longest war in contemporary history. The outcome of the negotiations between Egypt and Israel proved that resorting to diplomatic discourse is a more potent tool to secure aspired goals than using military force.

From the very outset of the conflict, the United States - and, initially, the Soviet Union, too - advocated the idea of Arab-Israeli negotiations within or outside the United Nations. From the armistice talks in Rhodes to the convalescence of Camp David, the fortunes of Arab-Israeli negotiations alternated between success and failure.

They succeeded when the parties met face to face within an international framework, assisted by an able and determined moderator backed by the United States, conducting their negotiations in accordance with a mutually accepted, though frequently differently interpreted Security Council resolution.

The talks failed when one of the parties, or both, saw in them nothing but an interval in the fighting in which they could recover their military strength. They failed when one side refused to talk with the other, when the moderator tried to assume the role of arbitrator and when the United Nations encouraged the recalcitrant side by adopting biased resolutions.

The negotiations failed when one of the principal powers lent one-sided support to one of the parties, ignoring the vital interests of the other side. And, above all, they never came about when the convener, overimpressed with the preliminary procedural wrangling of the contestants, hesitated to go ahead and invite them to attend the conference.

THE DIPLOMATIC history of the Arab-Israeli conflict substantiates these conclusions. They are born out by the commissions and omis-

sions of Dr. Ralph Bunche, the United Nations mediator, appointed after the war in 1948 and Dr. Gunnar Jarring, the special UN representative, appointed after the war in 1967; by Secretary Kissinger who launched his diplomatic offensive after the war in 1973 and President Carter who convened the Camp David conference in 1978 to prevent a new war.

Bunche, Kissinger and Carter making short shrift with the initial objections and reservations of the parties, succeeded in convening them in conference at the date, venue and agenda fixed by them. The Palestine Conciliation Commission, however, charged with organizing the first Arab-Israeli peace conference, proceeded contrary to the procedures successfully applied in the armistice negotiations.

Instead of inviting the Arab governments one by one and engaging their representatives in direct negotiations with Israel, the commission invited all Arab states together and accepted their refusal to meet with the Israel delegation in any shape or form.

After two years of idling on the shores of Lake Geneva, wining and dining the various delegations - of course, separately - the commission withdrew, without even once having managed to gather the feuding parties around the dining table, into a nirvana, where it still slumbers to this day.

No protracted procedural pourparlers preceded President Carter's energetic initiative. He simply asked for the pleasure of President Sadat's and Prime Minister Begin's company at Camp David where they showed up with impressive entourage at the appointed date. He released them only after they had accomplished their assigned task, the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli framework for peace and a plan for the settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Camp David was as much an international conference as Rhodes and Geneva had been. They took place because the conveners were not deterred by a chorus of protesters. They succeeded because the parties, meeting face to face, established a sufficient degree of trust and responded favourably to a variety of compromise proposals firmly advanced by the initiators of the negotiations.

The experience of 40 years of success and failure of Arab-Israeli peacemaking indicates distinctly that progress can only be achieved

The Friday Dry Bones



when the parties to the conflict are prompted by a political will to settle, and for this purpose are willing to enter into direct negotiations within a given international context on the basis of mutually-agreed guidelines, when they prefer the discussion of substance to bickering on procedure and accept the fact that a peace conference will never take place without a strong outside initiative and negotiations will never succeed without firm and fair mediatory guidance.

Of course, the going will not be smooth. On the contrary, it will be a bumpy ride with a lot of ups and downs, pushing, pulling and prodding.

For three years now Jordan, Egypt, Israel and the United States have explored the procedural aspects of a peace conference. Each of them consulted its friends and foes and all of them discussed with one another, in one form or another, its procedural problems. They all realized that under present circumstances, the only available framework for holding direct bilateral talks is an international conference sponsored by the five permanent members of the Security Council and formally convened by the Secretary General.

TWO MAIN difficulties are delaying the holding of the peace conference: the lack of agreement between the five powers on the future of the conference and the division in the present Israel government on its utility. At the summit meeting, held in Alexandria in September 1986, the then Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, committed the Israel government to the convening of an interna-

tional Arab-Israeli peace conference. He and President Mubarak agreed that preparatory work should begin forthwith.

The Soviet government, eager to recover the position it had occupied as one of the sponsors of the Geneva conference, proposed already in 1985 to hold preparatory talks between the five permanent members of the Security Council. In the light of the relations existing then between Moscow and Washington, the prevailing uncertainties in the Middle East, the split in the Arab camp and the still unfinished war in Lebanon, neither the parties nor the powers were inclined at that time to start preparatory work for the conference.

Now with signs of movement in Soviet-American relations, with both sides looking for new openings, the time should be opportune for the two governments to discuss the modalities for convening the long-overdue conference. An agreement between them on its nature and proceedings would pave the way for the attendance of the potential participants, allay exaggerated fears of some and curb unbridled ambitions of others.

All that the Security Council, then, has to do is to reaffirm its Resolution 338, urging the parties to enter into direct negotiations without further delay, confer the patronage of the conference upon its five permanent members, and define their functions in relation to bilateral direct negotiations. In addition, it must charge the Secretary General, in accordance with Resolution 344, to take the necessary steps in consultation with the parties for

convening of the conference and "keep the Security Council suitably informed of the developments in the negotiations to enable it to review the problems on an continuing basis."

In addressing his invitations to the parties, the Secretary General would be well advised to rely upon the terms of reference and procedures agreed upon between the United States and the Soviet Union and endorsed by the Arab participants and Israel in preparation for the Geneva Conference in 1973. They were communicated at the time to the Secretary General in identical letters by Secretary of State Kissinger and Foreign Minister Gromyko.

The precedents established strengthened the belief that as in the cases of previous high-level initiatives, the addressed parties would not refuse an invitation to a peace conference sponsored by the Security Council, conveyed by the Secretary General and strongly supported by the United States and the Soviet Union. What Dr. Bunche achieved in 1949, Dr. Kissinger in 1973 and President Carter in 1978 is certainly not beyond the reach of President Reagan and Secretary Shultz.

Enough time has been wasted with procedural shadow boxing. The regional and global constellation has not been as favourable for years as it is today to move the Arab-Israeli conflict from the battlefield to the negotiation table. To seize this opportunity and to move forward is the test of international statesmanship.

The writer is the former director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

READERS' LETTERS

DENIAL OF HISTORICAL FACTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Reading the article by Mahmoud Darwish in the issue of September 16 brought to mind the memoir written by Fadwa Toukan which you published on November 5 1986. Mr. Darwish writes: "It is difficult for the Israeli to turn his eyes away from responsibility for a tragedy he created 20 years ago." In her memoir, Ms. Toukan's first sentence reads: "Our blood is flowing from the unexpected stab of the knife's blade in the aggression of June 1967."

Israelis who are disturbed and worried about the implications of the occupation and the slowness of the process towards a settlement of the conflict can only be disturbed and worried about the kind of thinking which is reflected in these writings by two leading Palestinian intellectuals. Neither poetic license nor Oriental fantasy can excuse such blatant denial of the facts of history. Do they really believe that Israel was the aggressor in June 1967? Is Ms. Toukan unaware of the fact that King Hussein was advised and urged by the Israeli Prime Minister at the time to stay out, but that he figured that this was the time to show he was no less a heroic leader than Nasser? Is it intellectually honest to overlook the fact that Arab leaders and so many of the people never made their peace with the partition decision in 1947, attacked the new state in May 1948, and continued to wage inter-

mittent war for 19 years? Perhaps it is acceptable in poetry to write that black is white, but in real life, it makes one wonder how removed from reality a person can be and still expect to be taken seriously.

This, to put it mildly, is a great pity. ABRAHAM COHEN
Tel Aviv.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF LIFE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Your economic editor, Shlomo Maoz, took a walk through the field of Israel and saw only the cow-pats; then he trod in one liberally and spread it around ("Bitter fruits of middle age" - September 23).

I took the same walk and, though unable to ignore the cow-pats, saw the field and it was quite an attractive field as fields go, more attractive than others I have crossed.

I suppose Mr. Maoz was giving vent to his feelings because he is frustrated, as he claims Israeli drivers are, by the dead-end he has

reached.

Turn around Mr. Maoz, and walk through the field again, looking at the things you missed. We are not all throwing stones, chasing lucre, buying one way tickets, driving like maniacs; there are ordinary people living ordinary lives, proud to be Israelis; there are young people who readily serve their country, proud to be Israelis, there are over a million children who, if they are not raised on words like yours, will grow up loving their country, proud to be Israelis.

Let's give the bright side a chance! Haifa. MOSHE FEINGOLD

SECULAR INTOLERANCE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I am a new immigrant from the United States who lived for a year in Givatayim. We consider ourselves modern Orthodox Jews - tolerant people. But we were driven from the neighbourhood by our secular neighbours who harassed and ridiculed our children because they wear kippot, and who told me that they did not need my kind of immigrant and that I should leave.

The tolerance that F. Salomon and Naomi Feinstein (Letters, September 28) attribute to secular Israelis just is not so. Tel Aviv. YEHOSHUA DOVID

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